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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Pro-Slavery.

NATIONAL DEMOCRACY IN OHIO.

From The Ohio Statesman.

MR. BROOKE, of Hamilton, has brought in a bill to repeal the statute passed by the last Legislature, denying the use of jails for the custody of fugitive slaves. The *State Journal* thereupon resolves itself into an agony.

We have not been apprised of any benefit resulting from the law which Mr. Brooke's bill proposes to repeal. We do know that it is one of a series enacted by the last Legislature, to appease the clamours of the Abolitionists against the Fugitive Slave Act—which the Republicans have found it a losing business to oppose openly, and therefore meet it with retaliatory and obstructive legislation in the States.

If the Fugitive law is a bad one, why have the Republicans never taken party action against it in Congress? If it is not to be attacked in this way, as it has come to be passed in silence by the National Conventions of that party, why not, as long as it is a law, let it be fairly executed, without indirect and exasperating counteraction in the States?

It is idle for the Republicans to hope for existence upon such capital as their extreme abolition measures in the last Legislature. The people have passed upon these things. The intent of the Federal Constitution is the popular inspiration. Whatever justly tends to distract the harmony and comity of the States is at war with the spirit of Federal union. Upon all laws dictated by motives of sectional revenge, such as the one in question, the people have set the seal of reprobation. The Republicans have had seven years of opportunity to test the sense of the American people upon the Fugitive Slave policy of Congress, and their opposition has dwindled down to indirect undermining, where they no longer attempt the open, manly assault. It is idle to expect popular support for such a course of legislation. It has had its day. It might do to raise a clatter about it, if there never had been a union upon sectional compromises, or after the destruction of the present one. As things are, the talk of *The Journal* is only sound and fury.

Each State in the Union has its duties as well as its rights. By virtue of the Federal compact Ohio is bound to interpose no obstacle against the Federal officers when executing their duty, in the lawful arrest of fugitives from labour. There is also that comity which the sister States of the Confederacy have a right to expect, and which is also due to the United States. The Black Republicans, disregarding these obligations, passed a law forbidding the use of the jails of Ohio for securing the custody of fugitives from labour, while the examination is pending before the Commissioner, or after the warrant of rendition has been made out. This law the Democracy propose to repeal, and they are ready to meet the consequences of thus discharging their duty and releasing the State from the disgrace inflicted upon her by the fanatical Abolitionists who composed the majority of the last Legislature. *The Journal* and other abolition papers may rave about the "nigger," and repeat the old formula we have heard so often. It will have no effect whatever. The Democracy will demolish all the odious fanatical and sectional legislation which the Black Republicans have put upon the statute book. The good work is begun by a measure to repeal the childish law to prevent the use of the jails, and *The Journal's* notions are very much shocked. Its narrow, one-sided ideas are terribly lacerated; there is tribulation among the brethren of the Congo Creed; "the Whangdoodle mourneth for its offspring."

REMOVAL OF JUDGE LORING.

Mr. Johnson, of Abington, presented five petitions for the removal of Edward G. Loring from the office of Judge of Probate for the County of Suffolk. Laid on the table.—*Proceedings Massachusetts Legislature.*

JUDGE LORING will, we fear, be the death of the Massachusetts Abolitionists. His presence haunts them by day, and their dreams by night are disturbed by visions of his official appearance, in that fanatical community. While we admire the constancy and persistence with which he maintains, in so dignified a manner, the consistency and impregnability of his position, it does at times almost seem that the spirit of charity which is so glorious an attribute of our nature, and the feelings of kindness which so largely predominate in his disposition, might almost induce Judge Loring to resign his office just to please the gentlemen whose trade in "human freedom" is so largely affected by his course.

For several years past the dominant party in Massachusetts have been trying to legislate Judge Loring out of the office of Judge of Probate. With a majority in the Legislature they have had no difficulty in passing a bill which would, if carried into effect, require him to resign either that office or that of United States Commissioner; but, unfortunately, just as the hopes of the Black Republicans seemed on the point of realization, Governor Gardner stepped in with the veto power to tell them, "thus far, and no farther, shalt thou go." The Governor, by the way, has appeared for the last few years to be the evil genius of the Republican party in Massachusetts, and has given them a vast deal of vexation and trouble. But at last they have triumphed over him, and now have a clear field for the exercise of all their ultra projects. We shall see whether they have the courage to do now what they have cursed him for preventing their doing in former years.

We are not surprised to see the subject of Judge Loring's removal again mooted in the Massachusetts Legislature. There are men in that body who would not sleep well o'nights had they no such agitating question to discuss—some such ultra measure to talk about while enjoying in comfort the people's money. But with all respect for these gentlemen, we ask if they are not aware that they are pursuing a shadow? that while this topic has been a pretty plaything with the inability to perfect it, quite another and a different aspect is presented, now that the whole Government is in their power.

Gov. Banks *dare* not sign, and he *dare* not veto, a bill for the removal of Judge Loring. There will be a great virtue of legislation on the subject, much valuable time wasted, much mock patriotism indulged in, but some accident will happen to the measure before it is presented to the Governor for his signature. It will never do to place so ambitious an aspirant for Presidential honours in a position of so much embarrassment.

Meantime, this question will do, for lack of a better, to aid in keeping the slavery question in some form before the New England people. Judge Loring, on testimony which could not be disregarded, performed a positive and manifest duty in returning the slave Burns to his owners. To have done otherwise would have been to disregard his official oath, and to shrink from a solemn duty. Of course he is a fair mark for the shafts of fanaticism.—*Journal of Commerce.*

A PIOUS FIRE-EATER COMING NORTH.—The pious fire-eating parson of the South, the Rev. Mr. Brownlow, of Tennessee, is coming to the North to set Garrison and Greeley right on the subject of slavery and niggers. Parson Brownlow has been for many years an editor, a fire-eater and a clergyman, in Tennessee, fighting Satan, the anti-slavery people and the Abolitionists, day and night. He is one of the greatest heroes in his line; and when he comes in this direction there ought to be a set-to between him and Parson Beecher. Garrison and Greeley would not, we suppose, be a mouthful for this redoubtable fire-eating Southern parson; but Beecher has pluck enough and genius enough to enter the lists, and might prove more than an even match for him. Could not a controversy be got up between them in the Academy—a debate in which Parson Brownlow would take the Southern and Parson Beecher the Northern side? It would make one of the most remarkable exhibitions in piety and politics that has ever been got up, and would fill the Academy of Music if it were twice the size. The discussion between these two fighting persons might be continued night after night for a fortnight, the interest attending it being—we will answer for it—sufficient to produce a receipt of at least a hundred thousand dollars, and to create quite a revolution in an excitable community like ours.—*Bennett's Herald.*

SENATOR DOUGLAS.—The South may cause trouble if Kansas is rejected. Three States stand ready to resist. At this juncture Mr. Douglas fulminates against the position of the President. His speech in the Senate is the clap-trap of a demagogue, looking to his position with an anti slavery constituency in Illinois, of whom he is afraid. He never expected Kansas to come to Congress as a slave State for admission—never intended good faith in the Nebraska-Kansas Act—though, as he afterwards is reported to have said, it was the best anti-slavery measure ever passed by Congress. *We regret to perceive that he has been treated with respect and consideration—aye conciliated.* He has been put at the head of the Committee on Territories in the Senate. His arguments have been mildly and elaborately answered, as if his inconsistencies were honest—his sophistries offered in the candor of belief. Southern men should have taken him up on the moment. He should have been stript of the garb of patriotism, and held up to the country in his true light as a self-seeking renegade, truckling to the anti-slavery sentiment of his people. Thus exposed and demoralized before the country, his weak plausibilities would have done no harm, and his power to injure would have been destroyed. We regret that Southern Senators have left the reply to gentlemen of the North. *We are sorry that Douglas has not been treated with the scorn and contempt he deserves at the hands of all true and earnest Southern men.* We trust the Abolitionists of Kansas, if they fail now, will not be allowed another opportunity to accomplish the object of their foul mission to that territory, that firmness will characterise the course of Southern Representatives in Congress, and that no disastrous Compromise in favour of the North will be foisted upon the South, by politicians, for the sake of party.—*Charleston Mercury.*

Selections.

HELPER AND WESTON ON SLAVERY.

From The Methodist Quarterly Review.

"*The Impending Crisis of the South, how to meet it,* by HINTON ROWAN HELPER, of North Carolina." (8vo., pp. 420. New York: Burdick Brothers, 8 Spruce street, 1857.) Mr. Helper's book has a few leading points of peculiarity, among which we specify,

1. Its intense Southern sectional feeling. In temperament, in local attachment, in hereditary memories and proud associations, he is a true-born Southron. The South has had loyal sons, but none more loyal; she has driven them by thousands into reluctant expatriation, but none more sadly *exiled* than Helper. No banishment and no threats dampen one spark of his undying love for his dear sunny South. When he beholds her desolated and barren-struck soil, her sons crushed in dumb silence under the pressure of an iron caste, her trade and her industry fettered to the triumphal car of the commercial and industrial North, her ports unvisited and undocked, her cities dwindling to villages and hamlets, her institutions of science and literature stunted and brain-bound, her morals polluted, her civilization rapidly retrograding into a turbulent barbarism, her name a *synonym* for *infamy* throughout the civilized world, all the impulses of a true-hearted son swell within his soul to rescue the land he loves from ruin and shame. Mr. Helper did not come to the North because he loved the North, any more than Kossuth came to America because he loved America. The noble Magyar came here because he loved sweet Hungary and hated the Austrian; the Southron is here because he loves dear Carolina and hates the oligarch. There are noble bursts of freedom on his pages; there are eloquent denunciations of despotism; but the most deeply burning with insuppressible fires of all Mr. Helper's paragraphs are those that paint the utter subjection of his dearly beloved Sunnyland beneath the yard-stick of the Northern money-power.

2. Mr. Helper sees the great truth to which the Southern eye is blind, that it is the slave system which victimizes and sacrifices Southern prosperity on the altar of the Northern Mammon. While the North throws open her ports, her cities, and her wide-spread acres to a free immigration; while she scatters intelligence and confers the largest freedom on the great productive masses, and pours thoughtful material energy over all her surface, the South is employing all her genius and power to construct a system by which exclusion is passed upon the entrance of the industrial millions from abroad; by which she declares a most ferocious and crushing legislative war upon her own sole industrial caste; by which she separates intellect from labour, and crushes life out of industry; by which all energy is palsied and all prosperity annihilated. Mr. Helper sees that those grand opium dreams cherished by the South, and so voluminously vapoured forth by Southern orators at great conventions, are composed of the very thinnest of bombast; and that they ignore the true cause of all ruin—*slavery*, and the true restorer of all prosperity—*freedom*. Pour freedom through your masses, O statesmen of the South, and you pour prosperity over your soil.

3. Mr. Helper has a strong *class* feeling. He belongs to the body of free-born non slaveholders of the South. He is against the chivalry for the YEOMANRY. He goes for the Franklin against the Feudalist. And herein Mr. Helper, though sectionally a Southron, is morally a Northman. His whole class is in interest identical with us. The freeborn slaveless Saxon is the North running southward, even to the Gulf. It is the North in the South. This is the true "UNION."

When the great mass of our Northern voters go to the polls with an overwhelming suffrage in their free-labouring hands, it is astonishing that they give their votes for the crushing feudalist, "booted and spurred," and not for their oppressed fellow yeoman. We should hardly suppose that our very Irishry could be led up in solid platoons to vote for the exclusion of their own free labour from the most luxuriant soil in the bosom of our continent. Alas, poor Celt! in Ireland he was victimized by the English landlord; in New York by the American slaveholder. Land-holding oppression banished him from Ireland; slaveholding seduction will exclude him, by his own vote, from the fairest part of America. Because he hates a negro, he is giving to the negro the rich exuberance of our virgin soil. Should he go to the West to claim a field for toil, he may find that his own vote has covered it with negro-ism. Such is the result of surrendering the safe-keeping of his interests, spiritual and secular, to the faithless hands of trustees like Orestes A. Brownson and John Hughes.

4. In giving his plan of emancipation, Mr. Helper, perhaps, unfolds the magnificent impracticability of a Southern imagination. His plan, in short, is, proscription of the chivalry by the yeomanry. Exclusion from office, from business custom, and even social intercourse, and taxation of slave property to the destruction point, are its main articles. This is to be done by a thorough organization of the non-slaveholders. This is certainly a very pretty string of bells for this formidable grimalkin, and the non-slaveholding unity is the proper agent to circle the sonorous collar around the feline neck; but *the* now, Mr. Helper does not clearly explain. Oligarchy is now as absolute in Southrondom as in Austria. Mr. Helper is an exile for suggesting the project. He proposes a convention "some time during this year, next, or the year following," in the Southern States; but we fear that it will be a permanent "next year." Such a convention, triumphantly held in the bosom of the South, would be the first sensible convention the South has for some years seen. It would be a symptom, if not an inauguration of a policy of future freedom, such as the poor South has never beheld. But at the present the non-slaveholders, great as are their numbers, their interests, and their wrongs, give no signs of independent life. They are an immense majority over their oppressors, perhaps six to one; their disfranchisement, though complete, is founded upon no right and no real power; its overthrow can be accomplished without violence or revolution; so easily, indeed, that Dr. William Smith declares that the Methodists alone could at any time, by joining, awakening, and leading the non-slaveholders in a movement, entirely abolish slavery throughout the South. Yet, strange appearance, the subjection is complete and deep The slaveless white is a superfluity; he is sinking into deeper ignorance, thriftlessness and degradation; and he is the idiotic tool and the mob material ready to operate, to defend and complete the supremacy of the system which is fast placing him beneath the condition of genuine slavery itself. Such is the melancholy and pitiable, though silent appeal which the free labourer of the South presents for the sympathies and succour of his brethren of the North. But just because silent, it is unheard and unfelt. And though Mr. Helper's book itself is by many considered a sign that the slaveless South is waking, all the facts and accompaniments rather seem to show hat it is sleeping the sleep that knows no waking, unle ss an alarum from the free North arouses its conscious life. Let the reviving project of the slave trade be accomplished and its doom is sealed. The entire South will be Africanized, the white non-slaveholder will depart, and no distant age will present a complete negroland upon the entire surface of her Atlantic States.

5. For his love to the South Mr. Helper is an exile from her bosom. He is to be crushed because he dares to speak for freedom and for right. *That is* DESPOTISM! It is the pure genuine article. Within twenty-five years past a strange, exotic, but veritable DESPOTISM has arisen on our American soil, which violates and crushes to the earth the blood-bought rights of American freemen. Freedom of discussion, the boast and glory of our American birth, is as truly suppressed and murdered, south of our Potomac, as upon the banks of the Douro, the Tiber, or the Neva. Despotism is as rampant and as ferocious in Virginia or Carolina as in Austria. Slavery is as true a suppressor of free speech as Popery. Lynch law is just as unsparing as the Spanish inquisition. And, shame to say, this crushing despotism is upheld by Northern statesmen, sanctified by the defences, direct or indirect, of Northern ministers, and created and perpetuated by the blind suffrage of Northern majorities.

"*The Progress of Slavery in the United States,* by GEORGE M. WESTON." (12mo., pp. 201. Washington, D. C.: Published for the Author, 1857.) Few publications called forth by the anti-slavery controversy can compare in excellence with this volume of Mr. Weston's. Speaking from the stand-point of a right-minded freeman, it develops, without the slightest temper, with a complete knowledge of the subject, and in a masterly style, the character, plans and prospects of the Slave Power, with a sagacious measurement of the means and instrumentalities it adopts, the impediments and dangers in its way, the true modes of defeating its projects, and the prospects of the final issue.

Mr. Weston shows that slavery is but the pretext, and not the real motive of Southern agitation. The real basis of all this Southern movement is an intense political desire in the South for sectional supremacy. It first arose at the origin of nullification, before the anti-slavery controversy had become national. The slavery interest was seized upon by the heads of the movement as the best point of concentration by which the entire South could be seduced or driven into a unit. To the extreme point short of disunion they would never hesitate to go, and would be undividedly sustained; but when that fatal revolution is really commenced, the slaveholders, and the great slaveholders especially, would be the most earnest opponents of the disruption. All history shows, and the nature of the case demonstrates, that a slaveholding population is as timorous and as quietistic as it is weak; as inert as regards all bold movement as it is unfitted for any energetic action. Where, indeed, as in the present case, a factitious stimulus excites the feudal class to active concentrated complotment, it will drive with buoyant desperation to the extremest point of venture. But let the great slaveholding body once become conscious that a hostile separation or an open convulsion between the two sections is on foot, and the sensibility to the danger of the most insecure of all property is roused. The palpable approaching destruction of all their interests would reveal the natural timidity of their class. The most reckless champions of slavery are not the eminent slaveholders, but the politicians; and the politicians will be allowed to play their unmolested game until signs appear that the united North is resolved to stand a rupture. Hence the Union has never been in the slightest real danger. The slave property-owners have never turned coward, because the submissionism of the Northern mercantiles has always proved the first craven. Castle-Garden Union meetings and Wall street contributions to pro-slavery triumphs have precipitately anticipated the slaveholder's submission and done their best to deposit all Northern interests in the hands of their Southern masters.

Mr. Weston holds that the annexation of Cuba, while its advocacy by the Southern slaveholders evinces an extraordinary preference of political supremacy over economical interests, would prove not only the destruction of the sugar interest of Florida, Louisiana and Texas, but would be a great detriment to the existence of the Slave Power. Cuba is the most inviting soil and climate in the world for free labour. Its slaveholders have no fanatical attachment to the system akin to the rabidness of our South. Let but the genial clime and the fertile soil pregnant with a triple annual harvest be open and known, and it would soon be flooded and freed by a deluge of slaveless Saxondom. The result would be emancipation, and the addition of an indefinite number of free States to the Union.

The extension of slavery is the perpetuation of slavery. It increases the number of slaves States, and so enlarges the Slave Power. It inaugurates a slave-breeding system by which, singularly though truly, actual propagation is largely increased. Yet when the area is a continent, and there exists the competition in time against free extension, the coloured population is at present not sufficient for the extending demand. The reopening of the slave trade is therefore the only resource of the Slave Power. Without that, no exertion of our pro-slavery administration is able to prevent a cordon of free States from Kansas southward to hem in slavery, so that in due season it shall, "like the scorpion girt with fire," die by its own spontaneity. It is very probable that the great Armageddon, then, is yet to come, the battle over the revival of the slave trade. Unless that project can be accomplished in some underhand mode, its open attainment will become the great battle strife.

Mr. Weston makes evident the fact that, inasmuch as the superior profitableness of free over slave labour will stand in a state of continuous demonstration, too palpable to remain ignored, the disappearance of slavery before the face of freedom, with proper effort, is as necessary and resistless as it is desirable. Strong, indeed, is the obligation on the friends of freedom to disseminate the truth; and all the energy and heroism of religion and philanthropy are in demand, with the full assurance that, however formidably the face of the Slave Power now frowns and menaces, actual weakness pervades its body, and dissolution is within its substance, already beginning to sever its particles and complete its disintegration.

Such views, most ably and clearly presented by Mr. Weston, cheer us as a Church to preserve our unity of body and of action; and to stand up, in every section, in intrepid accordance with the noblest facts of our history. The friends of righteousness on the margin of slave territory had never so strong omens of encouragement for preserving an erect bearing and a fearless tone, in the firm and increasing support they may expect from the great body of the Church and the free North, and in the brightening tokens that the day of redemption is not distant.

THE CHRISTIAN PREACHER.

THE pith, power and responsibility of the preacher's commission was the preaching of righteousness. I HAVE PREACHED RIGHTEOUSNESS IN THE GREAT CONGREGATION. *I have not hid thy righteousness within my heart.* This was the foretold characteristic of the Great Preacher, and the salvation of the world depends upon the preaching of righteousness, God's righteousnes; a manifestation just as necessary since the Saviour came as before; and if possible more so, because of the tendency now to proclaim and maintain a salvation divorced from righteousness, a salvation by God's righteousness as an abstraction, without man's as a reality.

But the proclamation of God's righteousness, no longer as an abstraction, but directly against all sin, and requiring its renunciation, is always a difficult matter, and sometimes dangerous. And therefore, in one of the most explicit commissions ever given to the preacher, God commanded his servant to proclaim and apply His truth *against the sins of the people, the princes and the government,* without hesitation, without apology, and without fear, "*lest I confound thee before them.*"

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Courage and boldness always are the truest wisdom. Wicked men are like wild beasts; if you stand firm and look them in the eye, they quail before you; if you show the least fear, they spring upon you. Your fear awakens their courage, because their courage is false, and can be maintained only where there is no true courage to confront them. But your courage in God's cause impresses them with fear, for God's presence is with you, and no man can stand against that. That it was that saved Luther in the Diet at Worms. He would go, he said, and speak for God, though he should meet as many devils as there are tiles on the roofs of the houses. It was the very audacity of his courage that God made the means of protecting him.

A singular fact it is that ordinarily the preaching of God's Word has then and there come with greatest *power,* and proved most effectual, and the Word has been carried to the hearts and consciences of men with greatest faithfulness, where it has been attended with greatest hazard, difficulty, and persecution. And one reason must be because men that leave it there leave it in the crucible, and know how to prize it, know its mighty power, and those who receive it receive and keep it only with mighty wrestlings in prayer, being cut off from the world by it, and shut up unto God with it.

The Church at such times is a wrestling Church, confiding in the power of God, and not in any worldly policy, putting the Word of God foremost, feeding on it, and holding it forth as the Word of life, relying upon that, and God's Spirit with it, to attract, arrest and convert the people, and not upon splendid architecture, cushioned pews, exquisite music, fashionable services, or large revenues. Preaching in conventicles, in barns, in fields, at crossways, anywhere; preaching like Jeremiah's, in the gate, in the court-yards, in the streets, at Tophet, at the river-side, at the sea-side, on the mountain-side, in the market-places, has been honoured of God, has been mighty, through God, to the pulling down of strongholds; and that, too, very much in proportion to the bitterness of opposition, and the cost of such efforts.

On the other hand, when it has been all calm and sunshine, when communities and sects have rivaled each other in the strife of costly churches, and eloquent preachers, and it has been a boast of fashion to have large congregations, so that it would seem as if everything was ready at hand, every element of success, and a perfect surfeit of the Word of God has prevailed, and men have been proud of paying the highest prices for it, then, instead of the revealing there has been the hiding of God's power; and instead of giving themselves to prayer, the Churches have been at ease in Zion. The Churches expect to accomplish, by popularity, crowds, and fashion, paint, pomp, gilding, and pew-revenues, that which can be accomplished only by God's Spirit, in faith, in prayer, in self-denial, in deadness to the world, in living for eternity. When the popularity, crowds, pomp, and pew-revenues come, then the spirituality is all gone; God gives them their desire of all external prosperity, and sends leanness into their souls. Israel hath forgotten his Maker and buildeth temples.

Now, assuredly, if God finds that we do not use our ease and sunshine, our opportunities for the Gospel, as all-surrounding as the air, our Bibles, Sabbaths, pulpits, and prayer-meetings, for Him and His righteousness; if He finds that we pray less in proportion as he blesses us more, or labour less in proportion as our fields are wider, or that we shrink from the close application of the Gospel in proportion as the world itself invites us to apply it, making mince-meat of the Chinese and the Jews because of *their* sins, and at the same crying peace, peace, in regard to our own, opening the batteries of the Gospel against India, Caste, Opium, and Idolatry, and even Polygamy and Dancing, but giving orders to spike the guns if shotted against slavery in America; assuredly if God beholds such noisy faithfulness afar off, while hypocrisy, unfaithfulness and cowardice prevail near at hand; if he sees that sin is hugged and cosseted at home, but rebuked, forbidden and resisted only abroad, nay, that it is protected and defended at home, and the pulpit and the ministry forbidden by the very Church of Christ to be arrayed against it; then have we reason to fear that God will give us over to our own hearts' lusts and blindness, and that the Gospel and kingdom of God will be taken from us, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof.—*Dr. Cheever, in The Independent.*

BOANERGES BROWNLOW.

From The N. Y. Tribune.

IT is but too true! It was a flattering tale which that hussy Hope told us when she made us believe that the invasion with which we were threatened might never burst upon our borders. Parson Brownlow, the Fighting Parson, has already taken the field and is preparing the basis of operations for his imminent campaign against the North. He has left his headquarters at Knoxville, Tennessee, and when last heard from, about a fortnight since, he was holding a sort of muster of himself, a review of his own forces, addressing himself to the serious business of the war, at Huntsville, Alabama. On that occasion, as we learn from *The American Independent,* of that place, he made proclamation, at the head of himself, of the plan of his attack, so that we can have no ground for complaining that we are taken by surprise. At this moment he is laying in his supplies, and providing his munitions of war, in the Southern country. In the discharge of this essential duty of a good general he intends to visit all sections of the South, to see the negroes on all sorts of plantations, "so that he may be fully posted, and able to meet the Abolitionists and tell them to their faces that they are liars." He will collect good store of ammunition from these authentic sources, and then pour his well-directed fire on "old aunt Harriet Beecher Stowe, and her brood of satellites."

We tremble when we see the roll of these myrmidons, thus destined to swift destruction, headed by the name of the editor of our modest sheet. The Goliath of Knoxville challenges the whole army of the aliens to the deadly encounter. He thirsts to meet "Greeley, Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, Henry Ward Beecher, Garrison, or any of the other big guns of Anti-Slavery, whom he would denounce as infidels, as slanderers, as hypocrites, as liars, and as God-forsaken wretches generally, and would prove to all honest, right-thinking men that they were such." He declines the proposition we suggested, when the bulletin of his proposed incursion first reached us, that he should be met by Mr. Frederick Douglass as the most suitable person to take the other side of the question. This he does because, "as a Southern gentleman" (to which character the language we have quoted above proves his unquestionable title); "he could not meet Fred on account of the colour of his skin." And yet he goes on to say, with an inconsequence which makes us apprehend that his logic is not equal to his eloquence, that he thinks "there is not a free negro north of Mason and Dixon's line that is not as honourable, and every way as worthy of confidence, as any Black Republican editor, politician or preacher in all that region." Why should he be deterred by the black skin, if he be not by the black principles of his antagonists? However, he has not left the great behalf of slavery without witness on the dark side any more than on the white. For he is going to bring along with him Alf. Anderson, a negro slave from Knoxville, who is to meet and demolish Mr. Douglass and all and singular the other coloured orators that shall dare to measure arguments with him. According to the well-established laws of chivalry, as laid down by Don Quixote, while his master, the knight-errant, is vindicating the superiority of the charms of his peerless Dulcinea, Slavery, against all comers, his trusty Squire will be engaged in belabouring those recreants whose meaner degree makes them unworthy of feeling the weight of the knightly arm.

This African apostle of slavery, moreover, is to bring more than the weight of his words to the service of the Gospel he is set to preach—he is to enforce it by the power of his example and the beauty of his life. Not merely is he to "advocate and illustrate Southern slavery, and oppose Abolitionism," but he will refuse to be persuaded to accept the treacherous gifts of Freedom, and, his mission ended, he will insist on flying back to the maternal bosom of slavery, in spite of all the artifices the malice of his enemies can invent to hinder him. Backed by this living example of the truths he comes to promulgate, the warlike Parson will take the field as soon as the winter breaks up, or, as he perfectly phrases it, "as soon as the dog-wood blossoms are visible in the Spring." The dog-wood being a poisonous plant, we are apprehensive lest the caitiffs whom he comes to confound may regard this floral horometry as eminently proper to fix the date of such a missionary adventure. Be this as it may, he is coming, as our Apostle of the Church Militant, armed in complete mail of proof. He will come

"Like a soldier of the Lord, with his Bible and his sword,"

and whosoever can escape the edge of his argument will be overwhelmed by the weight of his authority. Of this he gave an example at Huntsville, where he "proved from the Scriptures that our Saviour recognised slavery, and that it was an institution which existed and had been recognised by God from time immemorial." So that, being forewarned, it will be our own fault if we are not forearmed; or, in case that is beyond our capacity, if we do not take ourselves out of the way and hide ourselves before his face, as men did before that of William Gilmore Simms, LL.D., a year or two since, when he threatened their lives with his Idyllic stolidities.

That this last measure may be one of prudence, if not of safety, we think all our readers will agree with us, when we recall the terms of the combat proposed by this Reverend challenger when he first fulminated his measures against us. He proposes to divide his subject matter into sixteen heads, on each of which he must have at least half an hour to dilate! A sermon eight hours long, with sixteen heads to it! A many-headed monster, indeed! The hydra was a harmless worm in comparison. And what Hercules is there that is sufficient for such a labour as this? We shudder at the thought of the fatal consequences which may result from the attempts of desperate men to sit out such a discourse. Sudden death or lingering idiocy might well follow acts of reckless temerity like these. By way of relief to these painful ideas, we are happy to assure our more anxious readers that Parson Brownlow is opposed to the dissolution of the Union. His idea of Union is, perhaps, a little original, as it involves fighting the Abolitionists, five of whom it is his deliberate calculation that one warm-blooded Southerner can whip. This species of Union he thinks much preferable to secession and giving up "our interest in the National Treasury, the Navy and the Goverment property generally." It is observable, too, that our invader has no apprehensions for his personal safety during his inroad upon us. He has no doubt of being civilly entreated, and having no obstacles thrown in the way of his saying out his say. He knows that he may come to the North and set up slave labour above free, and try to persuade our capitalists to become slaveholders and our labourers slaves, without any danger except that of being laughed at for his pains. But is he willing to return the civility, and permit Mr. Ward Beecher or Theodore Parker to argue against the institutions of his section within its limits, as we are content that he should against those of ours? Of course, he would lead the mob that would lynch them. And yet, he cannot see that this simple circumstance is an answer at all points to any argument he, or men infinitely greater than he, could bring in behalf of slavery, on its merits.

Indeed, the existence of such a man as this Reverend bruiser is argument enough against the institutions under which he has grown up. Where at the North would such a man be endured, in the humblest of pulpits? Coarse, brutal, vulgar, illiterate, unable to write two consecutive sentences of good English, without sense and without manners, he thinks himself competent to encounter such men as Messrs. Beecher, Parker, and Phillips, and to confound all their attempts to prove that freedom is better than slavery! We hardly think any of the gentlemen he specifies in his challenge will think their time well spent in his society. Slavery, indeed, is not a thing to be argued about. It is a matter of instinct and not of ratiocination. It is blasphemy against God to maintain that he has made one portion of his children to be the absolute property, subject to all the incidents of property, of another portion, and it is an insult to reason and common sense to seek out arguments in support of such a doctrine. To enter into a discussion of such a question is to admit that there is an inch of ground for the defender of the thesis to stand upon. Any Mormon Elder can prove the Divine Ordination of Polygamy, its permission by Christ and the Apostles, and its adaptation to the wants of mankind, by as many quotations from the Bible and as many arguments from the nature of things as Mr. Brownlow can bring in favour of slavery. Indeed, he could substitute Polygamy for Slavery in every one of Mr. Brownlow's sixteen propositions, and maintain them by as strong a force of argument and as great a weight of authority as Mr. Calhoun or President Lord, let alone Mr. Brownlow, could furnish in behalf of the political necessity and Divine origin of slavery. We do not imagine that the extremest Abolitionists can desire anything more to their purpose than the exhibition Mr. Brownlow proposes making of himself, throughout the North. Seeing what manner of minister, scholar and gentleman he has grown up to be under the influences of slavery, they can leave it safely to the mother-wit of the Yankees to infer from the fruit what manner of tree it is that bears it.

CENTRAL AMERICAN EMIGRANT AID ASSOCIATION.

From The Evening Post.

IT seems to be the general conviction of those whose business it is to study the public opinion of the country that no political party can long resist the propensity of our people to acquire territory, and especially territory in which agriculture is discouraged by no winter's cold, and where the soil yields abounding crops without reluctance or expense, as in the southern portions of the hemisphere. The slave interest has sought to find in this propensity an ally, and not without a prospect of success. The best of Walker's crew, as of Kinney's before him, were of Northern birth, and, had he been able to sustain himself, there is no doubt his substantial accessions would have been from the free States.

In view of these facts, we observe without surprise a movement in Congress for the colonization of Central America (or of that tract of it in which we are specially interested, as the favourite channel of emigration to and from California) with free labourers. It originates with Hon. Eli Thayer, of Massachusetts, who has earned a historic reputation as the author of the modern system of organized emigration, which, under Providence, has done what nothing else could have done towards securing a large preponderance of Free State settlers in Kansas. We take no risk in saying that, but for Mr. Thayer's exertions, Kansas would now have been a slave State, with two pro-slavery Senators and one Representative in Congress. His plan of sending emigrants in communities, with every facility and convenience of civilization, an entirely new thing under the sun, raised a barrier to slavery in Kansas higher and stronger than the President, with all his patronage and armies, has been able to break down; and at the same time it taught the true way for the free States to resist the aggressions and progressions of slavery. In his Kansas experiment, Mr. Thayer found that it was easier for the free States to send ten men with a hundred dollars apiece in their pockets to a new territory than for the Southern States to send one with ten dollars in his pocket, and that, when they got there, one of his hundred men was worth as much for all industrial purposes as the whole ten who came from the South. With this key discovered in Kansas, Mr. Thayer proposes to unlock the filibustering mystery. Walker and his backers in the Cabinet have sought to organize an independent government in Nicaragua, that it might furnish a rendezvous for the marauding, land-hunting, piratical, revolutionary and unemployed classes of the United States, to which they could resort with arms, and not violate the neutrality laws of the United States. When a sufficient force had accumulated, the work of conquest and territorial acquisition was to commence. After picking up the adjacent republics of Guatemala, Costa Rica, New Granada, &c., they would turn their eyes upon Cuba. By the time this acquisition was compassed—if ever—the new government would necessarily have acquired no inconsiderable degree of strength and consolidation. It would have a commerce and foreign relations. It would then be ready to take its part in the drama already assigned to it by the statesmen who are watching its fortation. Those States of our Union lying along the Gulf, which are parting with their relative political consequence in the Confederacy daily, and are yearning, even now, for a dissolution of the Union, will then have a central power to which to ally themselves, and a perfectly organized government in which to merge.

Under the new government of which Walker's was the nest-egg, Senators Davis and Toombs, and Brown and Quitman, and others of their association, might have one day aspired to sovereign honours, of which they have little hope under the Constitution of the United States. The slave trade would have been reopened with Africa, and the traditionary prosperity of the tropics revived. The defeat of Walker has not defeated their hopes nor put an end to their projects, and the future peace and prosperity of this Union depends upon flanking them with a free State colony, and bringing Central America under the influence of Northern civilization. Such is Mr. Thayer's project, as developed in his speech on Thursday last in Congress. He says, and says truly, that if Central America is colonized at all, it must be colonized from the Northern States, for the South have neither the men nor money to do it with; that it may be done without fraud or violence, as it should be, if done at all; that it may be done with the sanction and to the infinite advantage of the native population, instead of encountering their resistance; that it may be made the means of adding to the strength and the value of the Union instead of dissolving it; that it may be made pecuniarily profitable to all who embark in it, and also furnish employment and opportunity to thousands who now waste their native enterprise and energy in menial occupations which deform their character, paralyze their spirit and extinguish their hopes.

Some have supposed that Mr. Thayer was not entirely in earnest in his proposition. We have reason to know that he is very much in earnest—so much so, indeed, that he has already commenced the organization of a company, which is expected to send enough emigrants into Central America within the year to found two substantial seaports at either extremity of the Nicaragua route, and to put them into profitable relations with the agricultural interests of the interior.

If any project of colonization is feasible, this is; if any one man is more competent than another to execute it, Mr. Thayer is that man; and that he fully realizes its immediate importance in a political as well as a commercial point of view; that he feels the necessity of giving some such expression as this to the migratory propensity of our people, if we would avoid the indefinite extension of slave territory, we have satisfactory assurances. We are also happy to learn that the project is regarded very favourably in Washington by men of all parties, and that it has already interested many who were connected with Gen. Walker, and who will be but too happy to associate themselves in an enterprise which will accomplish all they themselves had aimed at, without a forfeiture of character or self-respect, without hazarding their lives or means, and without the risk of propagating slavery, which they do not desire.

Washington Correspondence of The Independent.

During the debate on Thursday, Mr. Thayer of Massachusetts, of Emigrant aid notoriety, entered the ring and for an hour applied the doctrine of "organized emigration" to the Americanization of Central America. He out-heroded all the South in the doctrine of "expansion of territory" and subjugation of adjacent countries, but upon the *means* for its accomplishment he differed *in toto* with them. There was a coolness and a shrewdness in the satire with which he welcomed the whole filibuster body as sympathizers and aids in the great work. His points were put with great clearness and force, and his facts made a profound sensation upon the other side of the chamber. The quiet humour with which he proceeded to state and *prove* that "the sons of the Pilgrims were in a tight place" and *must have* an expansion of territory, was decidedly refreshing after the acerbity of feeling which had characterized all the debate upon this question. After showing that the North and New England especially, had peopled Minnesota, Nebraska, Kansas, and was fast filling up Missouri, and that the wave having reached the base of the Rocky Mountains, its checked and returning tide was even invading and settling the uncultivated wild lands of the Old Dominion (here Virginia winced under the stroke), he declared his astonishment that Northern Representatives should stand back while the States bordering on the Gulf of Mexico should alone possess the genuine American philanthropy. He proceeded to show that the North had power enough to make eight new States within a year or so, if we had the territory and used a proper *economy* in the distribution of the families. Massachusetts has *one hundred and twenty-seven* people to a square mile; Rhode Island *one hundred and twelve;* Connecticut seventy-nine; New York sixty five; and after stating these facts, he adds: "So you see it was not fiction, it was not poetry, not a stretch of the imagination, when I told you that the descendants of the Pilgrims were in a tight place." Then he turned to the "Gulf States," and showed that some of them have *only eighty-nine hundredths of a man* to the square mile, and, taking them all together which

for his health, as everybody does: but as his bureau at Washington proved to be, upon the breaking out of the Mexican war, in possession of a very perfect plan of the fortifications at Vera Cruz, it is not at all unlikely that upon his return it will be equally prepared for a similar contingency in the case of Cuba.

All these things do not amount to positive evidence of an intention on the part of the President to take any steps towards effecting the acquisition of Cuba: but as indications of a probable purpose, they are certainly worthy of some degree of public attention.

SLAVE CODE OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

From The Tribune.

THE revised code for the District of Columbia, prepared under authority of an act of Congress, and to be submitted to the popular vote of the District on the 15th of February, needs to be looked after. A revision of the laws of the District is much needed; that is a point which admits of no question. The cession of the District to the United States having preceded by two years its actual occupation as the seat of Government, it was natural enough that during that interval the existing laws of the States making the cession—those of Maryland on the north side of the Potomac, and those of Virginia on the south side—should have been continued in force. This was well enough as a temporary arrangement; but after the seat of Government was removed to the District, the same temporary expedient was renewed, the two divisions of this little territory of ten miles square north and south of the Potomac thus having separate codes of laws, the provisions and policy of which in several important particulars were not only diverse, but conflicting.

The retrocession to Virginia of that part of the District south of the Potomac did away with this absurdity of two codes. But still there remains the anomaly, that in this progressive age and country the seat of the National Government should have for its code of laws the statutes of Maryland as they stood sixty years ago—many of them antiquated and obsolete, and repealed in Maryland itself—with only such scanty modifications as Congress has now and then found time to enact. There is, for instance, at this moment, nominally at least, in force in the District the Maryland Blasphemy act, based on the famous act "concerning religion," originally enacted at the suggestion of the Proprietary in 1649.

By this Blasphemy act it is provided, among other things, that to "deny the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, or any of the persons thereof," shall subject the offender, for the first offence, to have his tongue bored through and be fined twenty pounds, or, in default of payment, to be imprisoned six months; while for the second offence he shall be "stigmatized" by branding in the forehead with the letter B [Blasphemer] and be fined forty pounds, or, in default of payment, be imprisoned twelve months. For the third offence, by the Maryland act, he is to suffer death without benefit of clergy, though, by a general act of Congress, designed to restrict the number of capital punishments, the penalty of death under this and other Maryland statutes has been commuted into imprisonment in the Penitentiary for not less than ten nor more than twenty years.

It is a little odd, certainly, that such a law should have been allowed to stand for near sixty years on the statute book of the District—those sixty years including the precise period of Southern so-called Democratic ascendancy in the National Government, during which period it has been much the fashion at Washington to declaim against the narrow bigotry and religious intolerance of New England, and to hold up the old Puritan fathers and their enactments on the subject of religion to indignant reprobation.

But, although the Maryland code, as it stood in 1801, contained some antiquated absurdities, from which it has since been purged, so far as the State of Maryland is concerned, it also contained some liberal provisions, especially on the subject of slavery, which we hope to see perpetuated at Washington, though Maryland has wiped them out. By the law of Maryland, as it stood in 1851, the importation of slaves into the State was prohibited, and all slaves so imported became thereby free. This law is still in force in the District, so that no slaves can be brought thither for the purpose of being permanently held there, except from the State of Maryland. What is the provision of the new code upon this point? Does it or does it not allow the free importation of slaves into the District? or if any restrictions are imposed, what are they? Does the new code indorse the recent act of Congress prohibiting the slave trade in the District, or does it, by omitting any provision on that subject, impliedly repeal that act?

The idea of a code for the District is not a new thing. It has been undertaken before, but the attempt has hitherto failed, from the difficulty involved in the existence of slavery in the District, this having been one of the penalties which the inhabitants have been obliged to pay for the enjoyment of that luxury. We hope the difficulty has not now been got over by a total surrender of Northern "prejudice" on this question, yet one of the provisions of the new code, as reported by our Washington correspondent, leads us to apprehend that such, at least to a certain extent, may have been the case. The new code, it seems, provides that "every person who has any negro blood shall be deemed to be a negro," unless otherwise expressly provided, and subjected in consequence to all the disabilities imposed by the code upon negroes, such as being incapable of voting at any election, of being elected or appointed to any office of profit or trust, or of being allowed to testify in any case, criminal or civil, to which a white man is a party.

Now this, we are sure, is a new provision introduced by the codifiers, and not found in the old Maryland enactments, which contain no provision on the subject. It is contrary, also, to the statute law of Virginia, Kentucky and other of the more northern slave States, which provides that in the fourth degree from a negro ancestor the taint of African blood shall wholly disappear, and the parties shall be esteemed white. The idea of stigmatizing with perpetual disabilities those from whom all visible trace of African descent has vanished is a South Carolina notion, which we should be very sorry to see transported northward, and introduced, with the sanction of Congress, into the code of the District of Columbia. Wholly apart from any question of personal injustice, looking at the matter, in a merely practical point of view, such a provision is highly objectionable. There is a maxim of the common law, and a very wise one too: *De minimis non curat lex*—the law does not take note of minutiæ. Even granting the theory of the natural inferiority of the African race, it is pressing the matter to a ridiculous extent to hold that an imperceptible intermixture of negro blood shall nullify all the rights inherited from a succession of white ancestors, some of them perhaps Members of Congress, if not, indeed, Presidents of the United States. There are men in this city, occupying the most respectable positions, whose evidence under such a law could not be received in the District. Besides, such a provision, as is proved by law proceedings frequently occurring in Louisiana, where the same rule prevails, tends to involve the Courts in side inquiries of the most intricate and dubious nature, wholly apart from the real merits of the questions coming before them. It is quite bad enough to reject a man's testimony, and to subject him to other disabilities, when he is evidently black or yellow. To deprive a man on merely sentimental and fanatical grounds of the benefits of his actually white complexion, and substantially Caucasian descent, is not only unjust, but highly inconvenient. We hope no such provision will be allowed to find its way into the code of the District.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Thursday, Jan. 14, 1858.

The provisions of the Revised Code of the District of Columbia, concerning the importation of slaves, are contained in chapter 42, and are as follows:

SECTION 1. If any slave shall be brought into this District by its owner, or by the authority or consent of its owner, contrary to the provisions of this chapter, such slave shall thereupon become liberated and free.

SEC. 2. It shall not be lawful to bring into this District any slave whatever for the purpose of being sold, or for the purpose of being placed in depot, to be subsequently transferred to any State or place to be sold as merchandise.

SEC. 4. It shall not be lawful to bring into this District any slave whatever to reside therein, except so far as may be allowed by this chapter.

SEC. 5. Any citizen of the United States who shall come into this District with a bona fide intention of settling may import or bring into this District, at the same time of his removal into the same, or within one year thereafter, any slave the property of such citizen at the time of his removal, and the same to retain as a slave; provided such slave, or the mother of such slave, shall have been resident of the United States, or some one of them, three whole years next preceding such removal.

SEC. 6. No person removing to this District with the bona fide intention of settling therein shall sell or dispose of any slave brought into this District by virtue of any of the provisions of this chapter, or the increase of such slave, unless such person has resided within this District three whole years next preceding such sale.

SEC. 7. Nothing in this chapter contained shall be construed or taken to effect (affect) the right of any person traveling or sojourning with any slave within this District, such slave not being sold or otherwise disposed of in this District, but carried by the owner out of this District, or attempted to be carried.

SEC. 10. Any citizen and resident of this District, or of either of the States of Maryland or Virginia, seized and possessed of a state of inheritance in his own right, or in right of his wife, in land lying in this District, or in Maryland or in Virginia, and being the owner of any slave employed or worked on said land, may bring such slave within this District, on the land of such owner, for the use and benefit of such owner and his legal representatives, and not for sale; provided that a list of such slaves, containing their names, sexes and ages, signed by the owner or his agent, be delivered to the Recorder within three months after such slave or slaves shall have been brought into this District. [This section only applies to such slaves as have been residents of the District or of Maryland or Virginia since 1783, and to the descendants of such slaves.]

SEC. 12. Any citizen of this District acquiring property in any slave, being a resident in any one of the United States before the 21st day of April, 1783, or in any descendant of such slave, being a resident as aforesaid, by marriage, bequest, in course of distribution, or as guardian, may remove and bring such slave into this District, for the purpose only of employing or working such slave within this District as herein before mentioned, and not for sale; provided, that a list of such slave or slaves be rendered, in the manner required by the 10th section of this chapter. The owners of slaves brought into this District, under the provisions of this section, may sell them after such slaves have been residents for three years within this District.

Sections 3, 8, 9, 11 and 13, which I have not copied, are merely explanatory, or contain incidental provisions not affecting the general scope of the chapter.

From the sections I have cited, it appears that the slave-trade is prohibited in the District, but that the importation of slaves belonging to citizens of the United States who come here to reside is permitted, provided such slaves or their mothers have been residents of the United States for three years previous to the removal into this District—the provision being intended, I suppose, to guard against the introduction of slaves from Africa. If the present law be as you stated yesterday, that slaves can now be legally introduced only from the State of Maryland, the new Code will greatly facilitate the introduction of slaves into the metropolis. Shut up in a sick room, I have no means at hand to verify your statement; but my impression is, that if such be the law, it has been practically disregarded, and that slaves have been brought here from all parts of the South.

The most objectionable clause in the whole Code is that one which you justly commented on yesterday as a barbarous innovation borrowed from the extreme South—that any person who has *any* negro blood shall be deemed to be a negro. In its practical operation, this, in connection with other clauses of the Code, may lead to serious and perplexing results. For instance, by a clause in chapter 135, a negro is prohibited from marrying a white woman in the District under severe penalties; and it is further provided that

"Such persons intermarrying elsewhere and removing to this District, and cohabiting here as man and wife, shall be punished by confinement in jail not over one year, and fine not exceeding $100."

As in some of the States such marriages are perfectly legal, and as persons so married may come to reside here, it is manifestly unjust to punish with fine and imprisonment a legally married couple merely for cohabiting together. And if our manifest destiny shall lead, as it probably will, to the annexation of Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua and other Spanish-American countries, the Republic will number among her population millions of free citizens who, by the Code of this District, will be considered negroes, and who cannot bring their wives to the national metropolis without being liable to fine and imprisonment. There are plenty of men of the highest social and political class in Spanish-America who have negro blood in their veins, who are married to white wives, and who, if their States should be admitted to the Union, would be probably sent to Washington as Representatives and Senators. Yet, under this clause of the Code, they and their wives might be sent to jail for a year. I believe that one of the Presidents of Mexico was partly of negro descent; and if his African blood did not prevent his election to that office, it is very probable that Senators and Representatives of the same stamp may be sent as delegates to Congress. It will not do to sacrifice every domestic institution, including marriage, to the peculiar institution, even although President Buchanan has pronounced slavery the only domestic institution which is of any consequence to the public.

WASHINGTON NEWS AND GOSSIP.

Correspondence of The Ashtabula (O.) Sentinel.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 8, 1858.

THIS is the glorious 8th of January, the anniversary of a great slaughter of human beings; when some hundreds of our fellow mortals were sent to their final account, by balls and bayonets. I know of nothing more inconsistent than this commemoration of barbarous butchery, of scenes unworthy of Christian nations, derogatory to human nature. Had Britain done some noble, some Christian act, and our people had nobly responded in a Christian manner, there would be propriety in commemorating such an event. But to perpetuate the commemoration of human butchery is, to my view, simply heathenish. But Congress was so solemnly impressed with that great and magnificent scene of fiendish conflict that they would do no business on this day and, as they adjourned in order to *celebrate* the day, it was perfectly proper to appropriate to-morrow and Sunday to the purposes of getting sober, and so adjourned until Monday.

Yesterday Mr. Thayer, of Massachusetts, addressed the House. His theme was the advancement of Christian civilization by colonization. It is known that Mr. Thayer was President of the Kansas Emigrant Society, and more recently the principal agent of a colony settled in Virginia. These facts secured him a hearing. And the way in which he showed up the power of our free States, their rapid increase of population, and the necessary extension of freedom; the manner in which our free States can plant colonies, form cities and new States; the power of the steam-engine, and its advantages over slave labour, struck Southern men with perfect astonishment. His speech must advance the cause of liberty. The defect, if any, was the failure to connect the material with the moral prosperity of a free people, but an hour will not permit a speaker to embrace all the points he would desire. e.

Correspondence of The Charleston (S. C.) Mercury.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 10, 1858.

There is a general rolling over of things in Washington, and it is difficult to see the light. The Kansas, Utah and Nicaragua imbroglios are condensed together, and they are producing a general chaos. The filibuster and Utah matters, however, may be put aside for the moment, except so far as they become entangled in their active influences with Kansas. The great question now pressing upon public men here is the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution. The struggle upon this point will be bitter and desperate.

It is clear that Kansas can only be admitted through the active and determined support of the Administration; and but for this the President would have been much more roughly handled in the late debate, both in the House and Senate, upon the connection of the Administration with the unlawful capture of Gen. Walker upon the soil of Nicaragua by Commodore Paulding. The Administration is now weak, and the Southern men are anxious to strengthen it, so as to make its efforts in behalf of the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution more influential. This will account for their ignoring other issues in which they differ from the President.

The position of things is strange. Mr. Buchanan has been fighting against the South all summer in resolute and desperate efforts to have Kansas a free State, and Judge Douglas has been siding with the South in insisting upon the legality of the acts of the Territorial Legislature, and upon the sovereignty of the Convention. And now, what a change of position between them! Mr. Buchanan is with the South, and Judge Douglas is with the Black Republicans. Both have changed. Mr. Buchanan did, last summer, write a letter to Governor Walker, in which he said to him, "You must use all your influence to have the Constitution referred back to the people for ratification or rejection; upon this, you and I must stand or fall!" This letter will soon be published.

Judge Douglas, last summer, in his speech at Springfield, urged the sovereignty of the Convention, and its right to determine absolutely upon the Constitution of Kansas. His change is explicable. Free-soilism is omnipotent at the North, and the admission of Kansas with a pro-slavery Constitution will be the destruction of the Democratic party. As one of its leaders he will fall with it. To prevent this, he is struggling to Abolitionize the Democratic party. He is influenced by still another consideration. He has been a candidate for the Presidency since 1848. The North had two Presidents in succession, and the South will not tolerate the nomination of the next one from that section by the Democracy.

This postpones Judge Douglas for seven years longer. A great cycle this in the life of a public man now-a-days. Douglas, then, is for change, confusion, anarchy, in order to advance himself. He is now appealing to the "Free North," and is preparing the way for a sectional fight. *It will come, and let it come.* But Douglas is gone. If the bowstring was around his neck, and the sack prepared for his voyage down the Hellespont, he would not be more fatally gone. The Black Republicans will not put their standard in his hands—the South will not touch him—and the Administration will fight him. He will be defeated in Illinois for reelection to the Senate. Kansas will be admitted. The next House of Representatives will be Black Republican, and in 1860 we shall see—what? Things are drifting to confusion. The defection of Douglas has done more to shake the confidence of the South in Northern men than everything that has happened before. If he proved false, whom can we trust? *The Mercury* is right. Our failure to sustain our rights has prostrated our friends at the North.

Correspondence of The Evening Post.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13, 1858.

There is no longer any doubt what course the Administration will take in regard to the Lecompton Constitution. You frequently see it asserted in correspondence from here that the Administration are going to back down to Douglas. The Administration are not going to do any such thing. They are going to make a fight, if they are slaughtered in the field, as I think they will be. If I had no other evidence of what I assert than the fact that James Buchanan owes his election to the ultra South, and is now controlled by them, it would be enough. The important airs and arrogant tone of Fitch, in the Senate to-day, is evidence that there is no intention on the part of the Administration to back down. The declaration of Warren, of Arkansas, in the House yesterday, that the Democracy intended to vote for the Lecompton Constitution, as it comes here from the election of December 21, portends the same result. But I do not found my judgment upon these things when I say there is no longer any doubt. My authority is higher than these. The final decision was made to-day at the White House. A member of the House, who is a little shaky on the Lecompton Constitution, but who has earned the right to be counted a firm friend of the Administration, called upon a certain gentleman in this city to-day, who speaks by card. The member said he desired to make up his mind what course to pursue, and felt that the time had come when it was his right to know precisely what the policy of the Administration is to be with reference to the Lecompton Constitution. He received the reply that the Lecompton Constitution must be put through at all hazards, and at whatever cost, and that was the final decision. The member expressed the fear that there was danger in such a course. "Not at all," was the reply: "there is more danger in not doing it; for," added the man of authority, "the people care nothing about Douglas's Squatter Sovereignty. The only question is *Slavery or no Slavery* and the moment one thing is settled, the details upon which Douglas makes issue will be lost sight of and forgotten. We must put the Lecompton Constitution through, regardless of the action of the people of Kansas on January 4."

I will add that very near the same time that this conversation took place, the President of the United States declared to a gentleman, who called to see him on business, that he wished the result of the election in Kansas, Jan. 4, was to come to him; *he would dispose of it without ceremony!* As he made this declaration he exhibited a degree of feeling seldom noticed before in Mr. Buchanan. He was about to state, by request, what he would do with it, when the approach of a lady changed the conversation.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 18, 1858.

As the time for action upon the Lecompton Constitution approaches, men begin to calculate the chances of its being passed in the House. It is said that the opposition to it in the Democratic party is much less violent than it was to the original Kansas bill, and that opposition was overcome by Executive interference. Hence it is feared that the Administration can force the Constitution through in the same way. But it must be recollected that Pierce had all the principal leaders of his party to aid him, while Buchanan encounters the most violent opposition of those leaders. Douglas's personal power and influence are immense, and will be brought out against the Administration. Had he not given his aid, the Kansas bill would not have passed. Can Buchanan carry his measure against him? The disaffected members of the Administration in the House say that the Constitution must be defeated, unless there is defection in the Republican ranks. Of course all this is speculation, but it is very rife just now.

The Senate Chamber was crowded to-day to hear Mr. Hale's speech on Kansas affairs. Since Judge Trumbull—on the first reading of the President's Message—suggested the objections to the portion of it relating to Kansas, which have formed the gist of all the arguments hitherto made against the Kansas policy of the Administration, the opposition has been almost dumb, and everybody was anxious to hear the first gun, which has proved a broadside. Mr. Hale reviewed the whole history of the Kansas difficulties, asserting that it was the original design of the Kansas bill to make it a slave State. He followed the Administration, step by step, through all its interference to establish and enforce measures of oppression and tyranny in the Territory. He showed up the "semi-official" meeting of Senator Bigler's in a way which made the Pennsylvania Senator examine the paper on his desk very closely indeed. He illustrated the half-way character of the meeting by a story of a man who took the bank-note of a neighbour to the bank of a neighbouring town, to see if it was good. He forgot his errand four days in succession, and at last, ashamed to confess his negligence, resolved to *lie* it through. The owner of the bill asked him if "he had remembered the bank at last?" "Yes." "Is the bill good?" "No." "Is it bad?" "No; it is about middling." Mr. Hale was interrupted just as he had reached the Dred Scott decision. He showed that as long as three years ago Toombs thought that the opinions of the Court were unworthy respect or consideration. He resumes to-morrow. ff.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 18, 1858.

I have thus far avoided all speculation as to the strength of the opposition to the Lecompton Constitution, in the House. But inasmuch as the time for action is drawing near, indeed has already arrived, I will venture the following canvass of the House, which I have made up with great care from the combined opinions of different responsible gentlemen, who are severally competent to judge of existing sentiment on the subject.

Republicans,	92
Maryland.—*Davis, *Harris, and *Ricaud,	3
Kentucky.—Jewett, Clay, Stevenson,	3
Pennsylvania.—Hickman and Montgomery,	2
Indiana.—English, Davis, Niblack and Foley,	4
Illinois.—Morris, Harris, Shaw, Smith, Marshall,	5
Ohio.—Cox, Groesback, Pendleton, Cockerill, Hall, Miller, Burns, Lawrence,	8
New York.—Sickles, McClay, Haskins and Corning,	4
New Jersey.—Adrian,	1
Total,	123

*South Americans.

The ninety-two Republicans embrace Blair of Missouri, Morris of Pennsylvania, and Campbell of Ohio. Mr. Caruthers of Missouri is absent from the country, which reduces the number of members to 236, making 119 votes necessary to a choice in a full House. By the above calculation, the opposition would have three majority. I am free to say that I believe the Administration, with its powerful patronage already at work, can remove that majority. Gentlemen in whose judgment I have great confidence think otherwise. Whether it can or cannot, there is also a list of members whose course is not yet determined. Some of them are already bought, or are on the fence waiting for bids. They may be put down under

DOUBTFUL.

South Americans,	10
New York Democrats,	6
Connecticut do.,	2
California do.,	2
	20

From this list of twenty it is believed that enough votes can be procured against Lecompton to defeat the swindle. The Douglas men are very sanguine; so is the Administration.

Hughes and Gregg, of Indiana, are gone over to the Administration, body and soul. The most extraordinary pressure is being made upon the Northern Democrats to keep them in line for Lecompton. The New York delegation (Democrats) have had the most corrupt and infamous offers made to them. To what extent this expedient will accomplish the end desired cannot now be determined. It is hardly worth while for these members to sacrifice much in their competition among themselves for the favour of an Administration that is almost too feeble to reward its own friends. H.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 16, 1858.

Notwithstanding the demonstration made by Mr. Clingman the other day, a majority of the Committee on Foreign Relations will virtually sustain Com. Paulding in the resolutions which are to be reported. Filibusterism has had much of the wind taken out of its sails already, and the more conservative portion of the South concur with the President that this unlawful mode of proceeding is calculated to damage the object at which they mutually aim.

Our Minister at Paris, Mr. Mason, wrote here some time ago that he would retire in February, if the President consented to his stay so long. The arrangement was accepted, but now, as the time draws near, no successor has been appointed, or is conclusively indicated. The President has repeatedly offered the vacancy to Mr. Slidell, and urged his acceptance under most complimentary circumstances, but without convincing him that either personal or political ambition would be satisfied by yielding to the reiterated desire. There is a stronger reason than appears upon the surface for the anxiety of the President in regard to this particular mission. Cuba is the great point at which his policy is directed, and he knows that if the acquisition be practicable at all, Paris is the place where the real negotiation must be conducted. A ready, expert and shrewd Minister at Madrid may be desirable as an argument, but the diplomacy of this question has to be carried on with Louis Napoleon. Mr. Slidell may have doubts as to the feasibility of the project, and, therefore, be disinclined to risk his reputation, to bring home the barren results which attended the rash and ill-judged experiment of Soulé. He is a man of brains and long-headed sagacity, who is not tickled with the offer of this bauble, knowing very well that his fortune and position in the Senate will enable him to live in Washington and receive court, instead of going to Paris and paying court.

Correspondence of The Herald.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 16, 1858.

You are right in characterizing the discussion so far in Congress on both the Kansas and Nicaragua questions as unmitigated trash. But the reason why the discussion has been turned over to such members as are ambitious of giving their eloquence an airing, instead of being grappled by the older and more experienced debaters, has not yet been stated. The policy of the Southern men is wider and more comprehensive in its grasp than a mere discussion on the Kansas question, or a hair-splitting investigation as to the exact bearing of the law of 1818 and the *status* of General Walker. It looks to an extension of the territory of the United States towards the equator, and not the attempt to force slavery to the North. Whatever weight may have been attached to Mr. Calhoun and the Southern men of his day to the balance of power doctrine, that theory, as a theory, is now abandoned. Practically, the balance of power doctrine was exploded long ago; and there is no public man now in the South who will try to maintain it within the present limits of the United States.

There will, therefore, be no fight on the Kansas question. If the Lecompton Constitution is sent to the House recognising slavery, the South will make no effort to prevent its being sent back to be submitted to the people of Kansas beyond that formal struggle which they may consider a regard for appearances may render necessary. They feel satisfied that Kansas cannot exist as a slave State any more than Iowa, Wisconsin or New York, and so well convinced are they of this fact that it is far from improbable, if the second vote on the Constitution authorized by the Legislature should be against slavery, that they will accept that decision as final.

The President will not deem it his duty to interfere. He will probably communicate all the documents he may receive from Kansas to Congress, leaving the adjustment of the question wholly with that body.

It may naturally be asked, what does the South gain by this abandonment of Kansas? Here we find them willing that no less than three free States shall be admitted at once into the Union, and one of them, so far, having at least a *prima facia* claim to admission as a slave State. The reason is that they consider that by this course they disarm the opposition of the North to their plans of extending our borders to the South. If a fight were made on Kansas, it is easy to see that the whole North would be inflamed, and that, as a section, they would be united against the South. Under such circumstances any acquisition of territory to the South would be out of the question. Numerically, the North has a majority of votes in both Houses—numerically, the North is a large majority of the whole country, and therefore Southern men see plainly that they can only hope for the acquisition of suitable territory by adopting no step which will unite the North against them. I do not say their views are sound, nor do I advocate them. They are simply presented as facts—facts which underlie the movements of Southern men here, and which must be known properly to understand their present tactics.

Where do they expect to acquire this suitable territory? Singular to say, they have not their eyes now fixed, as might be supposed, on Mexico. Central America and Cuba are the points at which they are aiming. They regard the annexation of Nicaragua as not only possible, but probable, and this is the reason of their interest in Gen. Walker's movements. At the same time they would gladly see some man of greater capacity than Walker at the head of the movement, and it would not be surprising if Walker was set aside. They believe that if he had managed his cards skilfully, Nicaragua might now be applying at our doors for admission into the Union, and the other States of Central America would soon follow in her wake. As far as distance is concerned, Central America is really nearer to the settled portion of the United States than California, whilst its admission into the Union would develope its resources, and give a wide field for that surplus slave population, which is now a drug in Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri. The negroes in those States would give place to white labour, and they would be employed in a climate where white labour cannot be used.

The policy of the South may, therefore, be briefly summed up by stating that they have abandoned all hope of extending slavery to any Territory or State within the United States where it does not now exist, but that all their energies will be directed to the acquisition of territory south of the present limits, and practically as a first step to the annexation of Nicaragua.

DOUGLAS AND THE OTHER WALKER.

From The Chicago Tribune.

IF the correspondent of the New York *Tribune* may be believed, Mr. Douglas has become the fast friend and staunch advocate of the other Walker—the Pirate of the Gulf. We have all along asserted that he was so playing his cards as to prevent his expulsion from the party, even though obliged to strain a point and make a show of justice and decency to secure his reelection to the Senate from Illinois; and if this indication of his intentions in regard to Walker is justified by his acts, we shall claim that our case is made out. The truth is that Mr. Douglas has never had, and cannot hereafter have, a single sentiment in common with the Republican party. His Springfield speech, as well as his last harangue in this city, was doubtless the enunciation of his real political faith—such a faith as could not fail to excite in every Republican breast the deepest detestation. His whole life has been one of subserviency to the South. His political reputation and his fortune depend upon his continued coöperation with those who have made him what he is; and the Republican who supposes that there is anything in his character to induce the belief that he is, out of devotion to an abstract sentiment, about to kick from under him the ladder by which he has risen, don't know the material of which he is made. The double motive which now impels him to defy the displeasure of the Administration—the desire to save himself in Illinois, and at the same time to be revenged upon Mr. Buchanan for the real or fancied injuries or slights he has endured—does not mean Republicanism by a long shot! This contemplated support of Walker is an anchor to the windward, to which, before the end of the session, we shall see him heaving up with might and main. He knows that the South wants Kansas only as a plaster to her wounded honour; that she wants Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala, San Salvador and Costa Rica for the power which their possession will confer. Mr. Douglas, now as heretofore, goes for the main chance. If he can turn off the North by appearing to secure to her the freedom of Kansas—of Kansas which no power can long enslave—and confer upon the South the substantial acquisition of half a dozen slave States, his fortune will be made. Hence his clamour. What Republican will be deceived?

THE KIDNAPPERS AGAIN.

From The Geneva Courier.

THERE are a large number of our citizens who never have nor do not, up to this time, believe that Van Tuyl was the concoctor of the plan to kidnap the boys Prue and Hight. There is not a doubt in the minds of many but that it was a pre-concerted plan, between Van Tuyl, Jenkins & Co., to kidnap the boys, and sell them into slavery, and that it was understood that Jenkins & Co. should meet Van Tuyl in Ohio, at the place where they did. There are some facts connected with the affair which need some explanation, to establish the character of Jenkins, and prove him as honourable and pure a gentleman as the Kentucky resolution would make him. If Mr. Jenkins was an innocent man and imposed upon by Van Tuyl, as many have believed, why was it necessary to degrade himself by lying to the authorities while under arrest at Franklin, Ohio? If he was an honourable and innocent man, why did he accompany Van Tuyl, who was in disguise, so that even Prue did not know him, when they came back to Franklin, where Prue had made his escape? Can it be possible that Jenkins, or any other sensible man, would have returned with Van Tuyl disguised without thinking that something was wrong? If Jenkins believed Van Tuyl the real owner of Hight and Prue, what must he have thought of Van-Tuyl's disguising himself to go back after his own property? The fact of Jenkins leaving his own company and going back with Van Tuyl, an entire stranger, to help catch Prue, showed that he was much more interested than people generally are to help strangers.

The following extract from a private letter from a respectable clergyman at the place where Jenkins and Van Tuyl were arrested, gives some new light as regards the character of Jenkins. If he was honest and innocent in the affair, we can see no good reason why he should tell an infamous lie, to help carry out the plan of enslaving Prue.

Here is the letter. It speaks for itself:

"Van Tuyl was here under the assumed name of Paul Lensington, and one of the Kentuckians, Barton W. Jenkins, under arrest as kidnappers, but were discharged, as I told you in my last, on account of the flight of Prue, leaving no evidence against them.

"The impression is, at Geneva, that Jenkins was imposed upon by Lensington (Van Tuyl), and, therefore, not deserving of punishment. I have no doubt of his guilt, and of his desert of a share in the fate of Van Tuyl. While under examination here, he declared that Lensington was the real owner of Prue; that he, Van Tuyl, married his own cousin and obtained this slave by marriage, as part of his wife's dower (all this in Tennessee). The stories of Van Tuyl and Jenkins were so contradictory, that all here believed them kidnappers, though they could not hold them to trial. They went on from here to Kentucky, where Van Tuyl sold the other boy to Jenkins, making a bill of sale of $750, but taking only $500, in consideration of services rendered in keeping the two boys. Now, had he been imposed upon, he would have exposed the cheat when arrested, and certainly he would not have claimed to be a relative of Van Tuyl's, and to know about the history of these parties. He is as great a rascal as Van Tuyl, and deserves the same fate. Stir up your citizens to send for him at once, and for the other two, for I have little doubt of the guilt of them all."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 23, 1858.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Annual Meeting of the MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in Boston, on THURSDAY and FRIDAY, Jan. 28th and 29th, commencing at 10 o'clock, a. m. A strong array of speakers, as usual, may be expected on the occasion.

In view of the absolute control of the National Government, in all its departments, by the Slave Power—of the filibustering designs of the South, through the agency of the piratical Walker, for the purpose of a vast extension of the accursed slave system into new territories—the continued subjugation and fearful situation of Kansas—the brutal and monstrous decision of the U. S. Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case, whereby the entire coloured population of Massachusetts are denied to have any rights as citizens of the United States—the official declaration of Mr. Buchanan, that slaveholders are as much entitled to hold slaves in any of the Territories as any other property—and the revolting and startling doctrines avowed by the South, in regard to free institutions—the friends of freedom are summoned to rally, at this annual gathering, in numbers, and with a spirit and zeal, commensurate with the importance and solemnity of the crisis. FRANCIS JACKSON, President.

R. F. WALLCUT, Secretary.

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

THE Twenty-Second Annual Fair was held in the Large Saloon of the Assembly Buildings, on the 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th of December.

The receipts were	$1,646 85
Payments	441 46
Balance	$1,205 39

In addition to the Tables furnished by the friends of the slave in the city, there were the well-filled Tables of Germantown and Norristown, Newtown, Bristol, Byberry, Chester County, Abington and Mullica Hill. Contributions were received from Chelton Hills, Downingtown, Kennett, Milton, Christiana, Valley Forge, Upper Dublin, Darby, Conshohocken, Makefield, Attleborough, Lawrenceville, Trenton, Salem, Staten Island, and Richmond, Indiana. Also a Box from Leeds, England, and one, filled with rare and beautiful articles from Europe, furnished through the liberality of our co-labourers in Boston.

Great had been the uncertainty and anxiety with which the Committee entered upon their labours, in consequence of the wide-spread commercial embarrassments of the country—embarrassments by which the friends and efficient supporters of the slave's cause were deeply affected. These were, indeed, so great that the propriety of attempting to hold a Fair this year appeared very doubtful to a number of the faithful workers in the cause.

Nevertheless, your Committee resolved to do what lay in their power, believing that, however small might be the product of their labours, that little must not be lost to the slave. The result of these efforts is beyond our most sanguine expectations, teaching us lessons of faith and hope. Besides the pecuniary receipts, there was much in the attendance at the Fair to gratify and encourage the faithful labourers; never were the rooms more constantly filled, nor by more earnest and true friends of the slave, who highly enjoyed the opportunity of mingling in social intercourse and in bidding one another God-speed in the work before them. It was charming to find that in the midst of the difficulties by which we were surrounded and which pressed heavily on many a heart, the hand was still stretched forth to the slave with the feeling, "thy necessities are greater than mine."

There were also with us new and efficient workers, who, we confidently rely, have entered the field with an earnestness of purpose, and devotion to principle, that will not weary in well-doing, however toilsome the way or uninviting the petty details of monotonous duty. They, too, can "labour and wait."

During two days of the Fair a Convention was held in an adjoining Saloon, called by the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society. These meetings were largely attended and added much to the interest of the occasion. Our friends, Charles and Sarah Remond, agents of the National Society, were present, giving efficient aid by their faithful service.

With unfailing faith in the righteousness of our cause, and in full reliance on the wisdom of our plans of operation, we commend to our friends a continuance and increase of their efforts for the Fair of Eighteen Hundred and Fifty-Eight.

On behalf of the Committee, SARAH PUGH,
MARY SHAW,
Philadelphia, January, 1858. CLEMENTINA R. JOHN.

WILLIAM CHAMBERS ON SLAVERY AND CASTE.

IN a former article we have spoken of the singular fact that the gentleman above named, while advocating, with much earnestness, the very ideas respecting the treatment of slaves and free coloured people in the United States which the Abolitionists have always set forth in their lectures, newspapers and tracts, should yet join in the current reproaches against Abolitionists as violent and unreasonable men, who have damaged, instead of advancing, the cause of emancipation; and should make the further and greater mistake of assuming that they share the prejudice commonly felt, and join in the injustice commonly practised, at the North, against the coloured people. Such misrepresentations generally spring from a malignant opposition to the ideas, as well as the purposes, of the opponents of slavery. In the case of Mr. Chambers, it is quite clear that they spring merely from imperfect acquaintance with the facts in this department of a very complicated subject.

Since the publication (in 1853) of "Things as they are in America," Mr. Chambers has continued to call the attention of the British public to slavery and its relations and connections in the United States, constantly collecting more facts, and making more accurate inferences from them, getting his own mind cleared of misapprehensions, and diffusing the light thus gained through a large circle of readers, until at length, we are bound to say, he has given a more correct delineation of the condition of the coloured people, slave and free, and of the laws and customs by which they are oppressed, than has ever been published in Great Britain, except through the columns of the *Anti-Slavery Advocate*.

Since, however, the subject is an exceedingly difficult one to understand, since it is full of paradoxes and inconsistencies, and since the inquirer receives entirely different and even opposite statements, from persons who seem to his inexperience alike well-intentioned and well-informed, it is strange rather that Mr. Chambers has so far succeeded in mastering the subject, than that some traces of his old error linger, even in his latest pages.

In *Chambers's Journal*, Nov. 29th, 1856, in an article on "The American Crisis," describing the increased and increasing extent and vigour of slavery, and the numerical insignificance of the body of slaveholders who wield this immense power, we find the following paragraphs.

"But if we are not to entertain the wild supposition that the Northern States are pistolled, bowie-knifed, cudgelled, kicked and horsewhipped into submission by those of the South, it may be worth while inquiring whether the sentiments of the masses of the two belligerent parties are so widely dissimilar on the subject of slavery as has been hitherto supposed. In the Northern States, the coloured population are regarded as belonging to an inferior type of humanity; they are without the pale of human sympathy; and a broader distinction is drawn between the whites and them than between the whites and the quadrupeds. Under such circumstances, is it unreasonable to conjecture that the anti-slavery sentiments of the North belong more to an abstract theory, which one upholds just so long as it is convenient, than to an earnest conviction for which we are ready to sacrifice wealth and life? If this conjecture is correct, it will account for passages in recent American history which must otherwise remain wholly unintelligible.

"Again, let us look at the position of mutual dependence in which the South and the North are placed, and inquire whether there is not a principle of cohesion strong enough to account for reflecting men shrinking from the Crisis as often as it presents itself. The rise of slavery was simultaneous with the rise of manufactures; and, in point of fact, the slaves of the South worked, under the lash of their masters, for the looms of the North. But these looms would have been powerless to withstand the competition of England, but for the protection afforded to native industry by the slave-owners; and hence the high aristocratical position taken up by the latter, as the patrons and protectors of their shopkeeping countrymen of the North. If we take these circumstances into consideration, and at the same time suppose, as we have

power undertakes to give them, and actually does give them, international efficiency; and that this compromise of the fathers of the republic with slavery was at once a blunder and a crime against liberty.

That the American Government is rather a despotism than a republic, and that the power of the President resembles that of a despot rather than of a constitutional sovereign.

That, while affecting to allow fair play in the scramble between slavery and anti-slavery in the inchoate States, the Presidents of the Republic have aided in giving them pro-slavery Constitutions, as well as thrown the balance of authority in favour of slavery in the existing slave States.

That the position of Congress, in regard to the change from Territories to States, seems a method of wilfully extending slavery.

That it is shameful for Northern men to oppose only the extension of slavery and not its continuance.

That it is shameful, and also absurd, to attempt to compound for so much evil by so much good, and to allow a certain quantity of slavery in one scale, if a certain quantity of freedom, *or what looked like freedom*, was put in the other.

That the filibusters of the present day are to be ranked, morally, with other pirates, and domestic slave-traders with foreign slave-traders.

That the only rational explanation of the pro-slavery votes of Daniel Webster and other Northern members of Congress is that their regard for freedom vs. slavery was not sufficient to overcome party connections, or individual selfish considerations.

That even the great Northern orators in Congress have contended for political power, and not for the overthrow of slavery.

That the United States Constitution is "eminently conservative of slavery."

That, considering the constant disclaimers, on the part of the modern Republicans, of any intention to interfere with Southern institutions, and looking at their past history, we can entertain no high expectation of what is to ensue should they get into power—an event in itself doubtful.

That it is not possible to speak without indignation of the contumelies to which free coloured persons are exposed throughout the United States, and of the fact that more flagrant cases of maltreatment occur in the North than in the South.

That both slavery and the general prejudice against free people of colour have been in no small degree fortified by the conduct of the clergy of nearly every denomination, who throw the weight of their influence and their dialectics on the side of slavery, and seize every opportunity of reviling those who advocate anti-slavery principles; thus perpetrating a scandalous abuse of common sense and the most marked principles of Christianity, and inflicting a grievous wrong on the religion of which these men *pretend* to be the true expositors.

That another main support of slavery is the dissemination of pro-slavery sentiments, and the ridicule of anti-slavery efforts, by a great part of the periodical press.

And, finally, that, looking at matters as they stand, there seem to be but two modes by which this fearfully embarrassed question is likely to be solved—Revolution or Insurrection.

Such are the ideas and the sentiments of Mr. Chambers. We heartily welcome his powerful coöperation in our struggle for freedom. Every such utterance among the people of England hastens the downfall of American slavery. But when Mr. Chambers shall have studied the earlier records of anti-slavery as carefully as those of more recent date, he will find that it is for just such declarations as those above condensed from his book, and for the matter far more than the form, that Abolitionists have been called abusive, calumnious, fanatical, traitorous and infidel.

"A NOVEL AND INSTRUCTIVE SIGHT."

THE *New Orleans Picayune*, in reporting the proceedings at the celebration in that city of the forty-third anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans, boastfully challenges the attention of "the Garrisons, the Greeleys and the Stowes" of the North to a spectacle which it pronounces "at once novel and instructive"—yea, "sublime"—and which it evidently regards with pride as illustrating the Southern method of doing "homage" to black men. After some preliminaries, the *Picayune's* report proceeds as follows:

"As the Washington Artillery, the Continental Guards, the National Guards, the Louisiana Greys and the new company of City Guards appeared on Lafayette Square, under their respective commands, to do honour to the day, the approach of the Legion, commanded by Brigadier-Gen. Palfrey, was heralded. Up-town and down-town were about to meet for the exchange of military amenities. But they had another object in view—a higher and nobler one! Glance down along the serried lines and you will behold a sight at once novel and instructive. Men of the North, write of it to your Garrisons, your Greeleys and your Stowes, as a marvel not dreamed of in their philosophy! That Legion, the oldest and proudest military body in the State, are escorting to the City Hall the veterans of 1814-'15—the white veterans and the coloured veterans, and like honours are paid to each. As they approach the hall the up-town military companies, above enumerated, are brought out from the square and formed in double columns along St. Charles street for the reception of the veterans; and as the grey-headed white men and gray-headed coloured men marched through the open file they were respectively saluted with presented arms, while the different bands in attendance united in playing, 'See, the conquering heroes come.'

"The spectacle was truly a sublime one, and tears of generous joy moistened the eyes of many who beheld it. No unwilling or stinted homage was it that was thus paid to the negro veterans. If anything, they were more honoured than their white associates, who, in the day of danger, fought for their families and fires; *they* fought for their masters, and, notwithstanding the puling cant of the Abolitionists, thought it no unreasonable service.

"Of the coloured veterans there were thirty-five in all—about the same number there were of the whites. They were all gray-headed, well-dressed, decent-looking men, and after being duly honoured by the receiving corps on the street, they were escorted into the Hall, where refreshments had been provided for them.

"Subsequently the various military bodies formed into procession to parade through the principal streets of the city; and in this procession the veterans, both white and coloured, were assigned the post of honour, carriages having been provided for their conveyance. They were followed by the Governor and staff, and, after the procession was over, all the veterans dined together.

"Such honours as these, paid to coloured men in a Southern city, may look strange to Northern eyes, particularly to those of Boston, where a coloured company, in attempting to parade, was pelted with rotten eggs, and even more offensive missiles; or New York, where a negro is scarcely allowed the privilege of riding in the same omnibus with a white man.

"Conspicuous in the staff of Major-General J. L. Lewis rode the gallant Capt. Rivière, of the French Zouaves, who has recently been delivering lectures on the Crimean war. He was dressed in the uniform of his corps, with high boots, red pantaloons, and a blue, close, embroidered coat. On his breast were two valuable service medals, and over his shoulder a white *burnous*."

The thirty-five negro veterans, with whom the white soldiery of New Orleans were willing, for once, to "exchange military amenities," and who were allowed to ride in procession with the white folks, were, we suppose, slaves, since the *Picayune* naively tells us that they fought, not for "their families and their fires," but "for their masters." It is well known that a large number of slaves did fight bravely in that battle. They were enrolled, probably, in the same regiment with the free coloured soldiers who were addressed by Gen. Jackson as "Americans" and "sons of freedom," and as "fathers, husbands and brothers," "summoned to rally around the standard of the Eagle, to defend all which is dear in existence." Less than a month before the Battle of New Orleans, Gen. Jackson issued an address to his coloured regiment, composed in part, we presume, of slaves, in which he said: "I knew well how you loved your native country, and that you, as well as ourselves, had to defend what *man* holds most dear—his *parents, wife, children, property*." The *Picayune*, flatly contradicting Gen. Jackson, tells us that the coloured veterans fought "for their masters," and "thought it no unreasonable service." If Gen. Jackson, in calling for coloured recruits, had told them that they were to fight, not like the white soldiers, for "their families and their fires," but "for their masters," would they have rallied to his standard with enthusiasm? The supposition is preposterous. No. The coloured soldiers, both slave and free, were tempted by assurances from the whites that, if the country were victorious, their wrongs would be redressed. It has been stated on good authority (see Nell's *Coloured Patriots*, p. 295), that the slaves who took the field in compliance with Jackson's invitation, and fought for the country, were promised, before the battle, that they should have their freedom; that after it was over, they sent a Committee to the General to claim the fulfilment of this promise, and that he made no reply except to bid them go home and mind their masters! The annals of human perfidy present no blacker page than that which records the treachery of the white people of this country to the coloured soldiers who aided them in their struggles with the mother country; and the boastful effrontery with which the organ of the New Orleans slave-drivers talks of the "homage" paid to those betrayed black veterans of the war of 1812-15, in granting them the empty privilege of a public display upon the anniversary of the day which sealed their degradation, is too disgusting for comment.

A MEMORABLE INTERVIEW.

MR. GARRISON, in reviewing Parton's Life of Aaron Burr (a very interesting work lately published by Mason Brothers of this city, and which we intend to notice at another time), gives an account of an interview which he had with that distinguished man a few years before his death. Mr. Garrison (see *Liberator* of Jan. 8th) says:

"It is certainly to his (Burr's) credit that, while he was a member of the New York Legislature in 1784, a bill having been introduced for the gradual abolition of slavery in that State, 'he was in favor of a speedier extinction of the anomaly, and moved to amend the bill so as to totally abolish slavery after a certain day.' His amendment having been rejected, he voted for the original bill, which was lost. Probably it was his last effort in that direction; for, in 1831-2—I cannot now determine the precise date, but not long after the publication of *The Liberator* was commenced—Aaron Burr visited Boston, and sent me a special request to have an interview with him at the Marlboro' Hotel. Curious to see so noted a man, and especially to know what could be his object in soliciting an acquaintance, I at once complied with his request, and had a free conversation with him on the subject of slavery. He received me with the suavity and politeness for which he was so remarkable, and with great adroitness undertook to dissuade me from prosecuting the anti-slavery cause, and continuing to publish *The Liberator* —skilfully setting forth the hopelessness of my object, the perils to which I should be subjected, the dangers of a general emancipation of the slaves, the power and spirit of the Slave Oligarchy, &c. &c. &c. His manner was patronizing, and, with his strong and plausible representations of the dangers and difficulties in the case, well calculated to make a deep impression on my then youthful mind. He had a remarkable eye, more penetrating, more fascinating than any I had ever seen, while his appearance was truly venerable. But he was baffled in his purpose, and soon found that he was dealing with one who occupied a very different plane from his own; whose trust was not in man, but in the living God; who was not to be intimidated or discouraged by any portrayal of consequences, whether real or imaginary; who was animated by a love of impartial liberty, and could not stoop to any considerations of worldly policy. As he revealed himself to my moral sense, I saw that he was destitute of any fixed principles, and that unyielding obedience to the higher law was regarded by him as credulity or fanaticism. Yet I do not remember that he undertook to argue the rightfulness of slavery—his aim being, rather, to convince me both of the folly and danger of attempting to struggle with the Slave Power for its overthrow.

"We parted—he courteous and plausible to the last, and I firm and uncompromising—and we never met again. What other object brought him to Boston I could not learn: the next day he returned to New York."

STRANGE THINGS.

To the Editors of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I NOTICE in THE STANDARD of Jan. 2d an item entitled "Pro-Slavery Wesleyans," in which you give it as news by a correspondent of *The Wesleyan* "that a pro-slavery Wesleyan Church, composed of persons who voted for Buchanan, has been organized at West Point, Wis.; and, strange to say, they found a preacher of the denomination willing to serve them upon the condition of not preaching upon the subject of slavery." As nothing can be gained to the cause of anti-slavery truth by publishing a report (uncorrected) which does much discredit to a class of ministers, and a people who have stood at least *near* the front rank in the anti-slavery battle, suffer me to correct this evil report concerning the West Point Wesleyan Methodist Church and their minister by stating the facts.

1. It is not true that said Church voted for Buchanan.

2. It is not true that said Church required the minister not to preach anti-slavery. Much more,

3. It is not true that they found a Wesleyan minister who would preach for them and be restricted as to preaching upon the subject of slavery. But

4. It is true that a few got into the Church at its organization who were pro-slavery enough to vote for Buchanan; and when the Church employed a minister, he preached an anti-slavery gospel, and these members were offended, and admonished the minister, desiring him not to preach "politics in the pulpit."

5. It is true that the minister did preach anti-slavery all the more for the opposition. And, thank God, the number that opposed anti-slavery has grown beautifully less. More: it is true that no Church is recognised as a member of the "Wesleyan Methodist Connection" of Churches which holds the position charged upon said Church. Happening to be the man who was there, I know whereof I affirm. I am a constant reader of THE STANDARD and admire its determined opposition to *compromise* and *slavery*.

Yours for consistency and a pure anti-slavery gospel,

Rio, Wis., Jan. 10, 1858. C. POWERS.

POLITICS.

Geary, one of the ex-Governors of Kansas, has written a letter in opposition to the Lecompton fraud, and even the notorious Dr. Stringfellow repudiates it!

The following story is told of Col. Benton: Speaking of the Douglas defection, he remarked, "We hear much said about the people that Douglas will take off. He has not taken off the people—*the people have taken off Douglas, sir.*"

It turns out, after all, that the Indiana Democratic Convention sustained, not Mr. Douglas, but the Administration. The resolution adopted was rather equivocal in its terms, but such is its meaning. The Democratic masses are very much dissatisfied, and a new Convention has been called to meet on the 22d of February.

Gov. Wise, in his views of the Kansas question, is not supported by his party in Virginia. The Democratic members of the Legislature adopted, in caucus, resolutions opposed to his doctrine. Similar resolutions have been passed by the House, and will doubtless pass the Senate.

Ex-Mayor Wood has been to Richmond, and there are rumours that he is engaged in organizing a Northern movement to bring out Gov. Wise as a candidate for the Presidency. The Governor, in selecting such an agent, has done just what his enemies would naturally wish him to do.

The New York Assembly is still without a Speaker. A small squad of Know-Nothings—the debris of the meanest party ever organized in the United States—holding the balance of power, demand a large portion of the offices in the gift of the Legislature as a reward for their votes. The Republicans, to their honour be it said, have refused to buy these votes on any terms.

The Boston correspondent of *The Times* says: "There is some talk about Mr. Sumner's absence from his seat, people saying that if he was able to attend Gov. Banks's inauguration, he ought to be able to fill his office so far as to vote. This talk, I presume, has been caused by the closeness of some of the votes on confirmation questions in the Senate. Men will be peevish at times, and then they are not always just."

The people of Nebraska are quarrelling about the location of their seat of government—a portion of them preferring Omaha, and another portion contending for Florence. The question was up in the Territorial Legislature at Omaha, when, so violent became the dispute, a mob of the citizens of that place burst into the Hall, dragged the Speaker from his desk, and charged upon the members with bowie-knife and pistol. The next morning an adjournment to Florence was voted by a majority of two to one. The minority, seven men in all, remained in Omaha—in possession of the journal, according to the telegraph.

Gov. Packer, of Pennsylvania, was inaugurated at Harrisburg on Tuesday. In his inaugural address he indicated his opposition to the Lecompton villany. This looks as if Mr. Buchanan were not likely to be heartily supported by the Democracy of his own State. He may be able, however, by the force of party patronage, to control the Congressional delegation and thus effect his object, while the leaders of the party at home, by affecting opposition to his course, may satisfy the scruples of the masses, and thus keep them in the party, where they will be ready in due time to aid the Slave Power in advancing the next scheme that may be proposed for the subjugation of the North.

The South gives the President a terrible home-thrust, as follows:

"Mr. Buchanan's antecedents imply that he and his Secretary of State are in accord touching filibustering enterprises, and we have a right to expect that, as Gen. Cass telegraphed a prayer for the success of Walker, so Mr. Buchanan will avenge his foul defeat. We all remember the Ostend manifesto. This was the substance of that famous paper: The possession of Cuba by the United States is essential to the welfare of the Republic; wherefore, if Spain will not voluntarily release its hold of the island, this Government may appropriate it by violence. 'Cession or seizure' was the formula by which the philosophy of the Ostend manifesto was understood over the world. In other words, it involved the precise principle of filibusterism, and as such was signed and approved by James Buchanan. Nay, he is author of the paper! Now, what more does William Walker affirm by his enterprise against Nicaragua than that its possession is essential to the security of the South, and that, inasmuch as its feeble rulers refuse to give it up, in taking it he is justified by the paramount law of self-preservation? 'Cession or seizure' is the alternative he proposes to the degenerate despots of Central America, just as 'cession or seizure' was the alternative offered to Spain by Mr. James Buchanan. Except the guilt of filibusterism be in the reverse ratio to the magnitude of its operations, we submit with all respect that the writer of the Ostend manifesto is not the individual to affect disgust at the morality of Walker's expedition. Surely, the President does not court a monopoly of the business."

PERSONAL.

William H. Burleigh has been appointed financial and travelling agent of the New York State Temperance Society. He is an able and eloquent speaker, and will command large audiences wherever he is known.

Wendell Phillips lectured before the Young Men's Association at Chicago on the 9th inst. His subject was "Toussaint L'Ouverture," and the Chicago papers say it was "handled with eloquence and effect."

Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia, will attend Friends' meeting in Hester street, near the Bowery, to-morrow (Sunday) morning. In the evening she will occupy the pulpit of the Second Unitarian Church (Mr. Longfellow's) at the Brooklyn Athenæum.

Mrs. Swissheim, formerly editor of the Pittsburgh *Visiter*, has taken up her residence at St. Cloud, Stearns Co., Minnesota, and become the editor of *The St. Clond Visiter*. She holds a sharp pen and will make an eminently readable paper.

Prof. Hedrick, who was driven from the North Carolina University for his support of Col. Fremont, has received the appointment of third clerk in Mayor Tiemann's office. He has been of late superintending a chemical laboratory in New York.

Arthur Tappan, says the *Journal of Commerce*, has consented to act as an Agent of the American Missionary Society and of the American Reform Tract and Book Society; the first being located in this city and the last at Cincinnati. Mr. Tappan must be more than 70 years of age.

The Washington correspondent of the *Springfield Republican* says: "If Henry Ward Beecher would spend a winter here, he would have the entire Southern delegation for his hearers, and very likely his supporters. They are fiery, fanatical, and often barbarous, but know as well as anybody the difference between a dull, slavish priest and a manly, courageous pulpit orator."

John Calhoun (Cahoun, according to the baptismal register), the Border Ruffian Regent of Kansas, was the first child baptized in the West Church, Boston, by the Rev. Dr. Lowell (father of the poet). The date of the baptism, according to a note from Dr. Lowell in the *Christian Register*, was Oct. 30, 1806. Whatever may be said of the efficacy of infant baptism in general, it must be conceded that in this particular instance it availed nothing.

Abigail H. Whittier, the mother of John Greenleaf Whittier, the Quaker poet, died recently at the family residence in Amesbury, Mass. She had lived with her son and daughter many years. She was 78 years of age, and leaves a numerous circle of loving friends among the poor and suffering, who were benefited by her unobtrusive kindness, a most characteristic example of which is recorded by her son in one of his pleasant reminiscences of boyhood, published in his volume of prose sketches entitled "Literary Recreations."

"THE LITTLE ABOLITIONIST."

ALBANY, Jan. 12, 1858.

To the Editors of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I AM anxious that you should put the story of "The Little Abolitionist" into book form. It would make a capital book for gifts, juvenile and Sunday-school libraries. Perhaps it would pay to illustrate it handsomely with pictures. All that I know who have read it are delighted with it. THE STANDARD has been the favourite paper in my family of late. I do not save my papers, so we cannot re-read it. My practice is with THE STANDARD, the *Liberator* and the *National Era* to send them, after reading, to friends and acquaintances residing in dark places—Minnesota, Kansas, Southern Illinois &c. As much depends on individual effort, allow me to suggest this plan to every anti-slavery man and woman. We can all number among our friends those who reside in regions where the anti-slavery sentiment needs to be planted. Especially should the new and embryo States of the North-West be remembered in our distributions. In new countries a newspaper of any kind is greedily read and passed from hand to hand, often over a wide extent of country.

B.

THE *Kentucky Weekly News* of Jan. 8th contains the following notice:

TO OUR PATRONS AND FRIENDS.—We have almost become a stranger to the friends of freedom who are interested in our cause, not having been able to issue our Weekly paper for the last three weeks, nor our Daily regularly every day. Our expences have been every week the same, while our weekly income has been almost *nothing* at all, and our extreme hard work on jobs, at very low prices, has alone saved us from a crush. *Death* would be better to us than *defeat*—more honourable, and less discouraging to FREE MEN—to the high, patriotic and daring stand we have taken in the cause of human kind. *Surrender?* WE CANNOT; WE MUST NOT—and honour should compel every true patriot to bear a part of our weekly burden. While we hold forth, upon the enemy's own territory, with fortitude to withstand the sweeping torrent against us, surely our outside friends can feel willing to aid us. It is a serious struggle, attended with untold privations and toil, such as none are yet willing to undergo.

Let this be considered by our friends, and let them suffer no willing heart to languish in a good and glorious cause. Your ever faithful,

WM. S. BAILEY.

The friends of the anti-slavery movement at the North are greatly embarrassed for want of funds, but we beseech every one who, after discharging his duty to that movement, has yet a dollar that he can spare, to send it for the relief of Mr. Bailey and his noble family, whose toils and sacrifices entitle them to sympathy and support. If Mr. Bailey were a preacher of a sectarian and pro-slavery gospel, thousands of Northern purses would be freely opened to his relief; but struggling as he is in behalf of freedom and a pure Christianity, the Abolitionists are the only class that stand ready to aid and encourage him, and they in their poverty can do but little in his behalf.

LUCY STONE'S BATTLE WITH THE TAX-COLLECTOR.—We have already stated the fact of MRS. Stone's refusal to pay her taxes, and also the reason of that refusal. The following letter to the Tax-Collector is her own explanation of the course she felt it her duty to pursue:

ORANGE, N. J., Dec. 18, 1857.

MR. MANDEVILLE—*Sir:* Inclosed I return my tax bill without paying it.

My reason for doing so is that women suffer taxation, and yet have no representation, which is not only unjust to one-half of the adult population, but is contrary to our theory of government.

For years some women have been paying their taxes under protest, but still taxes are imposed, and a representation is not granted.

The only course now left us is to refuse to pay the tax. We know well what the immediate result of this refusal must be.

But we believe that when the attention of men is called to the wide difference between their theory of government and its practice in this particular, that they cannot fail to see the mistake they now make, by imposing taxes on women, while they refuse them the right of suffrage, and that the sense of justice which is in all good men will lead them to correct it. Then we shall cheerfully pay our taxes; not till then. Respectfully, LUCY STONE.

The sale of the property attached to pay the tax is appointed, we understand, to take place on Friday of this week.

CUBAN ANNEXATION.—We invite particular attention to the article in another column, from the *New York Times*, professing to give information of the plans of the Administration for the speedy acquisition of Cuba. That Mr. Buchanan intends, if possible, to signalize his rule by the consummation of this long sought object, we entertain no doubt. See also, in the column of "Washington News and Gossip," an extract from the correspondence of the New York *Herald*, in which it is declared that the Southern leaders are disposed to give up Kansas without a serious struggle in order to disarm opposition at the North to their schemes of conquest and annexation at the South.

CALL FOR AN ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION IN VERMONT.

WHEREAS the question of American slavery is decidedly the great question before the people, in both Church and State;

Whereas there is need of more and continued agitation on this subject, and for greater effort in the anti-slavery cause;

Whereas there are many in our State who desire to occupy a higher moral platform than that occupied by the political parties;

And whereas it is desirable that the friends of Freedom be better acquainted and coöperate more heartily;

The undersigned hereby respectfully invite their fellow-citizens to meet in Convention at BRADFORD, VT., on TUESDAY and WEDNESDAY the 26th and 27th of Jan., 1858, to consult, discuss and determine with reference to to the evil of SLAVERY, and to adopt such measures and take such action as the importance of the subject and the state of the times demand.

RYLAND FLETCHER,	HENRY MILES,
MOSES KIDDER,	PARKER MCNEECE,
B. W. DYER,	L. PRINDLE,
N. R. JOHNSTON,	JOHN GILLIES,
F. S. BLISS,	J. M. COBURN,
ASA LOW,	WILLARD B. PORTER,
WILLIAM MORRISON,	SAMUEL STRONG,
E. HEBARD,	GUY C. SAMPSON,
N. HAZELTINE,	DANIEL KEENAN,
LEONARD JOHNSON,	JOSIAH DIVOLL,
J. C. WINSHIP,	JAMES F. GEORGE,

JAMES STATTON.

[NOTE.—Several hundred names are signed to this call. We need not give space to more, since THE STANDARD has a limited circulation in Vermont.—ED.]

The Convention will be organized on TUESDAY at 3 1-2 *o'clock*, or immediately after the arrival of the Southern train, at which time all the members are earnestly requested to be present. Addresses by invited, distinguished speakers, whose names will be duly announced, will be delivered on the evenings of Tuesday and Wednesday, and probably during the sessions of Wednesday.

CONGRESS.

THERE is little of interest as pertaining to the slavery question in the proceedings of Congress during the past week. The Kansas question overrides everything else, and that is held in abeyance till the arrival of the Lecompton Constitution. Mr. Hale, of New Hampshire, made a telling speech in the Senate on Monday. The correspondent of *The Times* says:

"Mr. Hale made a capital speech in the Senate to-day, on the Kansas question, full of humour and honeyed sarcasm—all the more effective because of its good nature. Ridicule is a most effective weapon when handled to advantage, and the Senator from New Hampshire uses it most skilfully, exposing errors of fact or logic so that it is impossible for the dullest hearer not to understand, whether he chooses to be convinced or no."

The telegraphic report says:

"Mr. Hale read from one of Mr. Buchanan's former speeches, in which he declared that 'all Christendom is leagued against the South on this question of domestic slavery.' Of course (remarked Mr. Hale) the South can have no allies except those who are out of Christendom (laughter). But what does Mr. Buchanan say in the next sentence? 'They have no other allies to sustain their constitutional rights except the Democracy of the North.'

"There's a fight for you. All Christendom on one side, and the Democracy of the North on the other (hearty outbursts of laughter)."

KANSAS.—The latest reports from the Territory are very contradictory, but it seems probable that the Free State party has secured a majority of the Legislature elected under the Lecompton Constitution. There are proofs, however, of the most astounding frauds on the part of the Lecompton party, and as the counting of the votes will be done by their agents, it is impossible to tell what may be the final result. The Lecompton Constitution has not yet arrived in Washington, in official shape, but is daily expected. The slaveholders intend to provide for the admission of Oregon, Minnesota and Kansas in one and the same bill, thus compelling those who are opposed to the Lecompton swindle to accept or reject them all together.

The result of the struggle we will not predict. Our readers will find in the column of "Washington News and Gossip" all the light on the subject that we possess.

Later.—The following despatch is from the *Evening Post* of Wednesday:

Washington, Januury 20.—At the Cabinet meeting last evening there was a sharp discussion on the Lecompton Constitution. A proposition was submitted to pass the Lecompton Constitution with a provision that the first Legislature under it shall submit the whole thing to the people. This view is sustained by Buchanan, Cass and Toucey, but is opposed by Cobb, Thompson, Floyd and Brown.

Attorney-General Black was absent, but is understood to favour the proposition.

The President is chagrined by the Message of Governor Packer, of Pennsylvania, dissenting from his Lecompton Constitutional views.

B.

SLAVE CATCHING IN ILLINOIS.—Some time last summer a slave, in his flight from bondage, took passage on an Illinois railroad, whereupon the master sued the corporation upon a charge of "aiding and abetting" the fugacious chattel in his ungrateful efforts to escape from the happiness afforded by the peculiar institution. The Supreme Court, Judge Skinner presiding, has just rendered a decision in favour of the Company. Following are the points of the decision.

"The opinion is, in effect, that the Constitution and laws of Illinois recognise all men within the State as *free men*; that slavery is an institution of mere local law in the States where it exists, which local law extends to no other State; that the law of Missouri under which the alleged slave is claimed by the plaintiff has no force whatever in the State of Illinois, but is 'repugnant to our laws,' and that, therefore, the plaintiff, 'under the law of Illinois, has no property in the fugitive, and can here, under State authority, assert no property in or authority over him.'

"The Court further gives the opinion that the case is one that comes under the jurisdiction of the Federal Courts, and that a State tribunal cannot take cognizance of such causes, and concludes that 'property' in persons being repugnant to our laws and the genius of our State institutions, our Courts will not enforce, as a general rule, the laws of other States recognising this species of property, where the cause of action, based upon such laws, arises in this State."

To the Editors of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

AT the monthly meeting, in December last, of the New York Young Men's Christian Association, an essay on "The Diffusion of Knowledge" was read by a young member. This, of course, was a topic that could not be discussed in from five to twenty minutes, as the bye-laws limit the time; yet our youthful hero found time to commence a sentence thus: "*In a country like our own, where freedom and liberty are enjoyed to their greatest extent*," &c. It is gratifying to know that such pharisaical cant was by no means swallowed by the membership, for the objections to it were numerous and strongly expressed. When we speak of *Christian* Russia, we may next speak with blushing cheeks of *Infidel* United States of America. This Star-Spangled Banner screeching has seen its day.

S. L.

THE REV. DANIEL FOSTER, formerly Chaplain of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, delivered, on Sunday evening last, in the Rev. Dr. Bellows's church, an able and interesting discourse upon the religious wants of Kansas. His object is to establish in that Territory unsectarian, anti-slavery Churches; and having already organized such an one at Emporium, and consented to become its pastor, he asks pecuniary aid from those interested in this form of benevolence. Mr. Foster made a good impression upon a large and intelligent audience, and Dr. Bellows heartily commended the object to his people as worthy of their contributions.

THE TRIBUNE ALMANAC for 1858 is on our table. It contains, besides the usual astronomical calculations and calendars, a list of the members of Congress, politically classified; Historic Sketches of Kansas and Nicaragua; a synopsis of the principal public enactments of the last Congress; the Platforms of the Political Parties; Abstract of the Dred Scott Decision; a list of the Ruling Sovereigns of Europe; Returns of Elections in all the States in 1857; and a list of States, Capitals, Governors, times of Legislative meetings, &c., and various Statistics. H. Greeley & Co., Tribune Office.

THE WESTERN ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR, lately held at Salem, Ohio, was quite successful, considering the great scarcity of money in that quarter. The receipts were $326.75—a small sum to be sure, but yet large to be received in such a village for such a purpose.

Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society.

In the Treasurer's Report, last week, $25.00 should have been acknowledged from Evan Randolph.

Summary.

TREMENDOUS STORM AT NEW ORLEANS.—A terrible gale of wind swept over New Orleans on the 15th inst., doing much damage to the shipping, uprooting many houses and destroying several lives.

PRICE OF SLAVES.—The *Panola* (S. C.) *Star* says: "At the sale of Mrs. Bobo's estate, last week, forty-one negroes, old and young, brought *forty-one thousand dollars*. Some of them were mere infants, and some old negroes brought only *five cents* apiece."

THE SLAVERY QUESTION.—The Rev. L. Rosser and the Rev. George W. Carter will address the citizens of the Valley of Virginia, at Salem, on Tuesday, January 12th, on the slavery question.—*The South.*

IS FRIDAY AN "UNLUCKY DAY"?—The year 1858 begins and ends on Friday. January, April, July, October and December have five Fridays each. April and December end on Friday, and January and October begin on Friday. There are 53 Fridays in the year. We trust, however, it will not prove more disastrous than 1857.

A PRESS WHICH PRINTS BOTH SIDES AT ONCE.—The New York *Sun* says that the Messrs. Hoe, the inventors of the "Last Pair," are building for it a new press, which, in power, rapidity of execution, and completeness in all its arrangements, will far excel anything of the kind ever produced, and will print both sides at the same time.

VICTORIA'S CHILDREN.—The Queen's children are rapidly growing up. The Princess Royal, who is about to be married, is now aged 17; the Prince of Wales is 16; the Princess Alice, whose hand is to be demanded in marriage by the Prince of Orange, is 14; and the Prince Alfred, whose residence at Alverbank his mamma graciously visited, is 13. Besides these four eldest, the family includes Helen, 11; Louise, 9; Arthur, 7; and Leopold, 4.

GOOD PRICES FOR SLAVES.—Of the negroes belonging to A. D. Alexander, Charlotte, Va., nine were sold on Monday, including a boy, three men and five girls, ranging from twelve to twenty-three years of age. They brought $10,530, an average of $1,170 each; which, considering the hard times, we think a crack sale. The balance were an old man, two women and a family of a woman and three children, that brought corresponding prices. They were all sold to farmers for cash bonds, six months credit.—*Richmond Dispatch.*

Hon. W. H. Seward, of New York, says the Warrenton (Va.) *Whig*, at the invitation of Hon. John S. Pendleton, paid that gentleman a visit a few days since, the object of which was to witness a regular old-fashioned Virginia "nigger" corn shucking. Mr. Pendleton being desirous that Seward, from what he would see there, would be convinced that slavery in Culpepper was not as bad as represented by the anti-slavery men of the North. The frolic passed off very pleasantly, indeed, and no one was more delighted than the New York Senator.

The Richmond *Enquirer*, which has always been the organ of Governor Wise, deals in a very gingerly manner with his recent letter on Kansas affairs. It admits the truth and justice of its fundamental principles, and declares that the Lecompton Convention was guilty of a great wrong in refusing to submit the whole Constitution to the popular vote. But it thinks the time has gone by for remedying that defect, and that Kansas should be immediately admitted under the Lecompton Constitution.

HOW THEY DISPOSE OF THE GIRLS "OUT WEST."—The Janesville (Wis.) *Independent* thus describes the way in which indigent females, sent west from New York, by the charitable associations, are provided for:

"A charge of ten dollars was made for each person, the money to be paid by the employer, and to be deducted from the future earnings of the young women. The Free church was thrown open, the young women occupying the seats in rows, some of them crying. Customers then walked along the range with perfect coolness, examining their condition one by one, and, as they found one suitable, they planked the cash and carried off the prize."

A paragraph quoted by us from the Boston *Journal*, relative to modifications in the religious observances of the Jews in this city, has drawn a reply from the editor of *The Asmonean*. He says that the organ in the uptown synagogue has been there for ten years, and that the reason why religious services were performed in Dr. Raphall's church on Sunday is "that the anniversary of Judah Toure's death, on the 18th day of the Jewish month Tebeth, happened this year to fall on a Sunday, and was kept on the Sunday—next year it will fall on Saturday, and will be kept on the Saturday. But if the 'fullness of the Gentiles' are not to come in till the Rev. Dr. Raphall transfers the Sabbath service unto Sunday, the Mormons have abundance of time yet to do their work."

WOMAN'S PROTECTIVE EMIGRATION SOCIETY.—Vere Foster, Esq., a son of a former British Embassador to this country, whose philanthropic efforts we have already noticed, in addition to his services rendered, has inclosed to Mrs. Farnham (at the office of the Society, No. 29 Canal street) the sum of $55. A generous example set for others to follow, we trust.

Mr. Foster writes still most encouragingly from the West regarding the homes he is finding for hundreds of poor young women in this city, whom the crisis deprived of the means of support, and threatened to drive to the maw of prostitution. We are requested by Mrs. Farnham, the Corresponding Secretary of the Society, to state that Mr. Foster's intercourse with the Catholic clergy of the West is intimate, so that places for Catholic young women best suited to them can be found. But his efforts, of course, are not confined to sect or nation, but are broadcast.—*Tribune.*

There is no limit to "dog stories"—blessings on the faithful creatures!—and we could tell a hundred about our old "Spice." He never seemed to know much about the "higher law," but he certainly had many of the particular traits that make man a "religious animal." It was always a mystery to us who learned him to go to church, but we well remember who broke him of the habit. Dea. Somebody had pelted him with many a brickbat, and Spice had never said a word about it, but once, when the good parson was sick, and the Deacon "opened the meeting," old Spice opened his eyes instantly, and dropping head and tail, he trotted down the aisle quicker than some very good men make themselves the forerunners of a contribution box. Poor dog!—the Deacon was accountable for his backsliding, but we could never make him pass a church slower than 2 40. But we reserve the remaining ninety-nine stories for future leisure.

SALES IN BEDFORD, VA.—We find the following in the Liberty *Sentinel* of yesterday:

Four negroes, belonging to the estate of F. G. Hurt, dec., were sold in Liberty, by J. C. Thomas, Com., on the 28th December, 1857, at prices ranging from $705 to $1,115, the latter price being given for a woman and her infant child, 2 months old. Aggregate, $2,820; average, $705.

Fifteen negroes, men, women and children, belonging to the estate of Jas. D. Watts, dec'd., were sold in this place, by Jas. F. Johnson, Commissioner, on the 1st of January, 1858, at prices ranging from $100 to $1,090; the former price being paid for an old negress, almost superannuated. Aggregate $10,885; average, $725 50.—*The South.*

The flour barrel movement is continued with great spirit. At Farmington, on Tuesday week, the ladies turned out and dragged a hand sled on which were a barrel of flour, a roll of carpeting, and an evergreen tree hung with presents, to the residence of Rev. Mr. Rogers, where the whole was deposited for the benefit of himself and family. At Sabattisville two young ladies hauled a barrel of flour on a hand sled to the house of Rev. Mr. Tripp, and presented it to him. In Gorham, on New Year's Day, twenty-four young ladies, with a band of music, dragged a barrel of flour from the store of R. G. Harding to the house of Rev. Mr. Hyde of the Methodist Chuch. But the most remarkable feat took place at Hampden, on New Year's Day. Sixteen ladies, dressed in boots and unmentionables, hauled a barrel of flour from Bangor to Hampden Lower Corner, a distance of six miles, over a hard road, and delivered it to the Methodist clergyman.—*Portland Transcript.*

WOMEN'S RIGHTS.—The fair sex have won a victory over antiquated prejudices in San Francisco. A young woman—we should think a lineal descendant of John Hampden—resolved to test the validity of the arbitrary regulation which compels females to appear in petticoats and bonnets, and forbids the use of pantaloons and "wide awakes." Boldly equipping herself in male apparel, she promenaded the public thoroughfares, outraging the modesty and delicacy of a policeman. The latter arrested her, and the case being made, it was argued and stood for judgment. His Honour, Judge Coon, delivered an elaborate decision. He laid down the law to the effect that if a woman prefers pantaloons to petticoats, she has a perfect right to wear them, and no policeman has a right to interfere with or disturb her in their use. The decision was vehemently applauded by a lot of journeymen tailors; but it is received with extreme discontent by all the hen-pecked husbands in the great Pacific city. The latter talk of resisting payment, if their wives run up bills for coats, vest and pantaloons, upon the ground that they are not necessaries for the use of married women.

THE GRAVE OF PATRICK HENRY.—Until very recently—and the people not only of Virginia, but of the whole Union, should hear it with chagrin and sorrow—the grave of Patrick Henry has had no stone to mark its locality, no monument to invite the eye of pilgrims in search of that sacred shrine. And at last the pious and patriotic task has been undertaken, not by the State that proudly claims the maternity of him whose dauntless spirit and stirring eloquence awakened the slumbering spark and fanned the flame of American freedom—not by the nation that "boasts his name" and still reaps the reward of his services—but by the two surviving sons of that fearless and gifted champion of liberty. We have been favoured by a gentleman, who has lately been sojourning for a few days in the County of Charlotte,

Miscellaneous Department.

THE STARS AND STRIPES.

A MELO-DRAMA.

BY L. MARIA CHILD.

From The Liberty Bell.

SCENE I.

[A planter's house, with negro huts in the rear of it. The Fourth of July. On the open lawn, under the shadow of a group of trees, is a pic-nic table spread with fruit, flowers, decanters of wines, &c. Near by, is an arch made of evergreens, with the word LIBERTY interwoven with flowers. A group of Carolinians, at the table, are singing a verse of "Adams and Liberty." At the close of the verse, they rise, touch glasses, and swinging them triumphantly, sing, "Ne'er shall the sons of Columbia be slaves!"

[While they are singing, the American Flag is brought in by two negroes, attended by a vulgar-looking overseer, somewhat intoxicated. On the top of the flag-staff is a Liberty Cap, which falls accidentally, while they are attempting to plant the pole in the ground. William, a genteel-looking light mulatto, the personal attendant of Mr. Masters, picks it up, and, excited by the general exhilaration, he claps it on his head, with a smile. The overseer snatches it off, and gives him a box on the ear.]

Overseer.—Take *that*, you black rascal!

[William turns upon him quickly, half raises his hand in anger, then lowers it, and walks sullenly away.]

Overseer.—Strike *me*, will you? You'd better *try* striking a white man, and see what you'll *git* by it.

There, take another, you damned nig!

[He strikes him again. William's breast swells, and his eyes flash, but he remains motionless. A youth at the pic-nic table exclaims:]

Served him right! Damn his impudence! That'll teach him to remember the difference between masters and niggers.

[While this by-scene has been going on, the flag-staff has been firmly fixed in the ground, and the American flag, surmounted by the Liberty Cap, is floating in the breeze. The gentlemen wave their handkerchiefs toward it, hurra, and sing:]

"'Tis the star-spangled banner! O long may it wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!"

Mr. Masters.—A pleasant scene this, eh?

Mr. North.—I never spent a happier Fourth of July; and I consider it a great piece of good luck that I happen to be in this beautiful part of the country, to witness such a celebration. How I pity the poor oppressed people in Europe, who have no idea what liberty is!

Masters.—Their situation is, indeed, pitiable. If they happen to get any ideas of freedom, by visiting our happy country, and seeing the working of our free and equal institutions, they are obliged to conceal their thoughts when they get home; otherwise, they would soon be silenced by some king, emperor, or pope. The British tried that game with *us*; but they found it was no go. You like the South, do you, sir?

North.—I consider it the best and most favoured portion of the country, sir. But it's none too good for the true gentlemen and true Democrats that govern it. Here's none of the cursed aristocracy there is in Boston. I've traded round in New England these ten years, and no rich gentleman ever invited me to his house. Here, I find one man's as good as another.

Masters.—"And a damned sight better," as the Irishman said. By the way, that Irish patriot, Mitchel, is a fine, sensible fellow, and a first rate democrat.

North.—So he is, sir. No sentimental twaddle about *him*. I am of his opinion. There's nothing I should like better than a well-stocked plantation, myself.

Masters [*slapping him heartily on the shoulder*].—Perhaps you will have it some day. So you don't believe what the Abolitionists tell about us? Eh?

North.—Don't I see for myself, that their stories are a cursed pack of lies? I am free to say that I never set eyes on a happier set of fellows than your slaves.

Masters.—We always call 'em *boys*, sir. We never say slaves. I feed my boys well, and clothe 'em well, as you see. They're so attached to me and their mistress that we couldn't *whip* 'em away from us, if we *tried*. [*He beckons to his mulatto servant, William.*] Hallo, Bill! I say, Bill, you don't want your freedom, do you, you dog?

William.—Oh, no, massa.

Masters.—You wouldn't thank me for it, if I'd give it to you. *Would* you?

William.—No, indeed, massa. I'd rather be a stray dog than a free nigger.

Masters.—That's right, Bill! You may go. Mr North, you can tell that to the bobolitionists, when you get back to Yankee-land. *You* are a competent witness; for you have seen with your own eyes, and heard with your own ears.

North.—So I have, sir; and I shall be proud to bear testimony in favour of your patriarchal institution.

Masters [*slapping him on the shoulder*].—I see that you are a man of sense. But let us rejoin my guests; they are preparing to give a toast.

[A guest at the pic-nic table rises and proposes a toast:]

Confusion to the Abolitionists! If we catch one of 'em here we'll give him a suit of tar and feathers, and ride him on a rail.

North.—Serve him right, too. I should like to *help* you do it.

Masters.—You're a true patriot, sir. If we catch one of the canting crew here, he'll run a fair chance of being treated as our brave Brooks served that miserable traitor, Sumner.

[The tipsy overseer swings his glass, and sings:]

We'll feather him,
And ride him on a rail,
Then black his ugly face,
And lock him up in jail.
If he speaks, we'll pull the trigger,
And shoot him dead as any nigger.

[The young men join, noisily, in repeating the chorus:]

If he speaks, we'll pull the trigger,
And shoot him dead as any nigger.

[Masters, waving his hand to silence them, says:]

One of our friends has composed a song for this occasion. Please give the gentleman an opportunity to sing it.

THE FILIBUSTERS' SONG.

What nation can with us compare,
In brav'ry, skill, or worth?
Was ever a people like to us,
Upon the wide, wide earth?

Chorus.

John Bull! you'd better not set bounds
Unto our bold career!
A whipping they will surely get,
That dare to interfere.

We'll take and keep whate'er we like,
And ask no leave of man;
"For they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can."

Chorus.—John Bull! you'd better not set bounds, &c.

We've set our foot on Mexico,
And got her mines of gold,
And land enough for twenty States,
Where niggers may be sold.

Chorus.—John Bull! &c.

The isle of Cuba we will wrest
From the weak hand of Spain;
Ou Hayti, too, we'll get strong hold,
And rule the Central Main.

Chorus.—John Bull! &c.

And if it suits our sovereign will
T' annex the planet Mars,
What business need it be to *you*,
How we increase our stars?

Chorus.—John Bull! &c.

'Tis plain that Fate marks us to be
The masters of the world!
O'er Sandwich Isles, and far Niphon,
Our flag shall be unfurled.

Chorus.—John Bull! &c.

Masters.—That's a capital song.

North.—Brim full of patriotism. We *are* a wonderful nation, that's a fact.

[*Guests of the table.*]—Encore! Encore!

SCENE II.

[Cotton fields and negro huts two miles from the planter's house. Evening of the Fourth of July. Pine torches stuck in the trees. Slaves dancing about, half tipsy, singing:]

Hurra fur Dependent Day!
Hurra! de nigger may play!
Ole hoe on de groun be lay,
Ole massa gib rum to-day.
Drink, boys, driuk! fur we no pay,
Hurra fur Dependent Day!

Old Negro Woman.—Stop dat ar! Jim's gwine to sing; and you all know Jim's extr'ornary.

[Jim, a merry-looking black lad, sings to the accompaniment of his banjo:]

"Come, broders, let us leave
Dis Buckra lan for Hayti;
And dar we be receive
As gran as Lar-fay-i-tee.

"Dar we'll make a mighty show,
In gran-hus, as you'll see;
I shall be all the go,
And you like Gub'nor Shootsy.

"Dar no more barrow wheel;
And dat's a mighty jerkus;
Dar no more 'bliged to steal,
And den be sent to work-hus.

"We'll dance in great big hall,
Will hole full half a million;
We'll dance togeder all
What white man call cotillion.

"We'll lead our partners out,
Forward two, and backy;
Cross hans, an wheel about,
And den go home in hacky."

[Jim receives great applause. The slaves exclaim, Dat's fustest rate! They jump about, laughing and singing:]

Hurra fur Dependent Day!

[Jim waves his hand with an air of importance, and says:]

Now, you niggers, b'have spectable! will yer? I'se done got ready a song, spressly fur dis 'casion.

[He takes his banjo and sings:]

I hearu massa tell 'em so!
All de folks born free in dis 'ere country, O!
But when I 'ave ask if Jim born so,
Den my master tell me no.

Mighty queer some tings I know,
If all folks born free in dis 'ere country, O!
Dis nigger he know dat tings no go,
Jus as massa tole 'em, O!

[This performance is received with guffaws of laughter, and repetitions of—]

Dis nigger he knows dat tings no go,
Jus as massa tole 'em, O!

[Jim again waves his hand magisterially, and says:]

Nuff of dat ar! I'se gwine to sing the great big song dat white folks made spressly fur dis splendiferous day, when Freedom was dispensed wid throughout dis ere land. Come, broders and sisters, jine wid me!

[They sing:]

"Fur ne'er shall de sons of Columby be slaves."

[White men rush in among them, brandishing whips:]

Damn your impudence, you black rascals! What are you at? Off with you! Every nigger of you! If one of you is seen out again to-night, he'll be tied up and get thirty-nine, well laid on. Off with you!

[The slaves disperse hastily. Jim hides himself with one of his companions. When the white men have gone, they step out on tip-toe, stealthily. Jim nudges his companion, gyrates his finger on his nose, and says with great gravity:]

Sambo, jus touch de banjo, while I sing—

"Hail Columby! *happy* lan!"

SCENE III.

[Interior of one of the servants' huts, in the rear of Mr. Masters's house. The mulatto, William, sits leaning his head thoughtfully on his hand, while Ellen, his wife, clears their frugal supper-table. Being favourite personal attendants upon their master and mistress, they have caught the language of genteel white people, and are familiar with the music they have heard in the parlour. Ellen, who might pass for a white woman, has an air of refinement in her dress and motions; and as she glides about the humble little apartment she now and then sings snatches of favourite operas. From time to time she glances uneasily at her husband, and at last playfully places her hand on his shoulder, while she sings:]

My love is sad! my love is sad!
What shall I do to please him?
Will he be glad, will he be glad
To have his Ellen tease him?

[Meeting with no response, she chants slowly, with a kind of mock solemnity:]

Shall I sing to him of the cold, dim moon,
Sailing through weeping clouds over a tomb?
Shall I sing *so?*

[She stoops to look up in his troubled face, then springs back, singing gaily and rapidly:]

No, no, no, no,
I wont sing so;
But like the summer morning,
When streamlets flow,
Bright dew-drops glow,
And birds salute the dawning.

Rich warble and gush!
Quick twitter and trill!
The twirling notes rush
Like drops from a mill.

With trem'lous flow,
The tones shall go,
Like fountains, when they're filling;
No thought of woe
The heart shall know,
While I, like birds, am trilling.

Rich warble and gush!
Quick twitter and trill!
The twirling notes rush
Like drops from a mill.

[While she sings, William's countenance gradually relaxes into a smile. He looks up with fond admiration, and says:]

Really, Jim was in the right, when he said it was extr'ordnary what yer upter. I believe the music master never gave young missis a lesson, without your learning it by heart at the very first hearing. And *she!* what a bungling piece of work she makes with a new tune, even when she has been practising a month! What a shame that *she* should have a grand piano, while *you* haven't even an accordion!

Ellen.—Never mind, Willie, dear! God has given me an ear and a voice; and *they* can't be *bought*, like a piano.

William [*with mournful earnestness*].—But they can be *sold*, Ellen! They can be *sold!* I tremble when I hear you sing so sweetly, for fear somebody will buy you for the sake of your ear and voice. If a large price was offered, do you suppose massa would hesitate to sell you? Not *he!* Wasn't my handsome sister sold to a New Orleans trader, in order to raise money to buy that cursed piano? I want to smash all the wires whenever I see it.

Ellen [*caressingly*].—You are sad and cross to-night, Willie. I'm afraid you're like the rest, head-achy with drinking, yesterday, and tired out with hurraing for Independence.

William [*contemptuously*].—*Independence!* What a mockery! I hurraed with the rest, for fear they would take notice if I did not, and make it a pretext to hang me, on the charge of plotting an insurrection. How I wanted to kick that fellow that struck me for putting on the Liberty Cap for fun! I didn't think of it when I put on the Cap, but perhaps there was an omen in it. Thoughts have been very busy in my head since yesterday morning; and it isn't the *first* time that the Fourth of July has set me to thinking. I told you what a rage massa was in about a newspaper sent to him from Boston. He said some damned Abolitionist had done it. He tore it into fifty pieces, and ground them under the heel of his boot. I found some of the crumpled pieces among the bottles, under the pic-nic table. I hid them in my shoes, and I've been reading them, till I've learned them by heart. Here is a verse that I shall always think of whenever I see the flags flying on Independent day. [*He reads from a scrap of newspaper:*]

"Oppression should not linger
Where starry banners wave;
The swelling shout of Freedom
Should echo for the slave."

Ellen.—O pray burn all those scraps of paper, Willie. If they should find out that you picked them up and saved them, it might cost you a dreadful flogging.

William [*laughingly*].—Why should he be afraid to have his slaves read Abolition papers? You know he says he couldn't *whip* 'em away from him, if he *tried*. How came massa and missis to take *free* negroes with them, when they started for the North, this morning? Why are you and I to be sent to his brother's, to-morrow, to stay till they come back? Of course, it is because they are so sure that they couldn't *whip* us away from 'em, if they *tried*. Heaven knows there's been whipping enough on the plantation to drive 'em all off, if *whipping* would do it. Yet how coolly he tells the lie before our very faces, and calls upon us to confirm it, because he knows we dare not do otherwise. If the Yankees were half as 'cute as they're cracked up to be, I should think they would see through such shams. How *tired* I am of hearing him repeat to every visitor that he couldn't *whip* us away from him, if he *tried*.

Ellen.—And so am I, Willie. But there are things worse to bear than *that*. I have been afraid to tell you all my troubles, for fear you would do something rash, and then they would burn you alive, as they did poor Peggy's husband. But now massa has gone away, and you will have time to get cool before he comes back; and so I will tell you all. When I am at the big house, sewing for missis, as sure as she goes out to ride, he comes into my room and asks me to sing, and tells me how pretty I am. And—and—I know by his ways that he don't mean any good. He gave me this breast-pin, and I was afraid not to take it. You know why poor Peggy's husband was to be sent off to Georgia, and how he tried to poison massa, when he found it out. Now massa says if I make him angry, he will sell *you* to the traders.

William [*clenching his fist*].—The old villain! and he knows all the while that you are his own daughter!

Ellen.—I told him *that*, but he paid no attention to it. My poor, poor mother! I suppose *she* was afraid, too; for I remember she always seemed so modest Oh, it is a dreadful situation to be in! [*She bursts into tears.*]

William.—Don't cry, dear Ellen. It shall never be. *Never!*

Ellen.—Oh, how can we help it? We are slaves; and there is no law to protect us. Sometimes I have thought I would tell missis all about it, and ask *her* to protect me. But I am afraid to do it, for fear they will sell *me* to Georgia traders, and keep you. I think missis begins to mistrust something; for she has been terribly cross to me lately. See how she burned my arm with hot sealing-wax, because I broke a tooth from her comb, when I was dressing her hair for their great ball, Independent night.

[*William stoops to kiss the arm, and says in a low tone:*] There is but *one* way, dear Ellen. We know the North Star; we have often talked of following it; and we must start to-night, before massa's brother comes for us.

Ellen.—Oh, Willie, if I only had courage enough! There seems to be nothing else left for us to do. But how *can* we get away? The patrols are always about. There's a man, only a mile off, who keeps bloodhounds to track runaways, and massa's brother will certainly send for him when he finds we are gone.

William.—He supposed us to be such contented slaves, that he won't hurry to come for us. Meanwhile, we must escape. Very likely the dogs will be after us; but it is better to *die* by dogs than to live to be *treated* as dogs. To-night is our only chance.

Ellen.—But they say there are such deadly snakes in the swamps.

William.—That is very true. Snakes may sting your *body*, but they will not sting into the *soul*, like the brutal overseer's lash; and that will be your portion, if you resist your master.

Ellen.—Oh, Willie! [*She sobs violently.*]

William.—Come, dear Ellen, if you love me, try to be courageous. I know where there is a suit of young massa's clothes, and I have no doubt they will fit you. You can pass for a white lad, and I will be your servant.

Ellen [*smiling through her tears*].—I will tell them I couldn't *whip* you away from me, if I *tried*. Hark! What's that? Has there been anybody about, listening to what we have said?

William [*after a moment's silence*].—It's nobody but Jim. I thought it was his whistle. And don't you hear him singing, "The Blue-tailed Fly?" I wish I could be as thoughtless as that merry fellow.

Ellen.—You can't, Willie, because you know too much.

[Jim enters, singing:]

"Jim crack corn—don't care!
Ole massa's gone away."

[He gives a bobbing bow to Ellen, and says, with a knowing grin:]

Who's gwine to dress missis har? [*He nudges William, and adds, with a wink:*] I'se boun dey tink bobolitionists wud talk to yer, if dey tuk yer way to de North. 'Peers like he's skeery. What's he skeered bout? You tole him, hunder times, you'd ruther be a stray dog nur a free nigger. Couldn't *whip* dis ere nigger away. *Could* he, now? [*Puts his hands on his knees, and laughs aloud.*]

William.—Take care, Jim! Don't make so much noise! Those cursed patrols may be prowling about.

Jim.—Sound asleep, I'se be boun for 'em. Tuckered out, and done up wid drinkin.

"Jim crack corn—don't care!
Ole massa's gone away."

Ellen.—I'm afraid some of the rum got into *your* head, Jim.

Jim.—Dis 'ere nigger 's sober 's deacon. I'se gwine to Metodest meetin. I'se boun to git religion. Now you'se an extror'nary critter! Up to ebery ting, jus de same as white folks. You know how massa write de pass. Mebbe you'll write a pass fur Jim?

[Ellen looks inquiringly at her husband, who nods assent. While she is writing the pass, Jim begins to sing:]

I hearn massa tell 'em so!
All de folks born free in dis 'ere country, O!

William.—Hush! hush! Jim. You will bring us all into trouble with your noisy fun. If you *must* be singing all the time, do sing "Old Dan Tucker," or "The Blue-tailed Fly," or something of that sort. But, tell me, seriously, *is* there a Methodist meeting in the woods, to-night?

Jim.—I call dat ar an extror'nary question, when a spectable nigger asks to hab a pass gin to him. Dar's a mighty big meetin tree miles off, in Middleton Woods.

[Ellen hands him his pass.]

Jim.—Tankee! Tankee! You've allers bin rale kine to dis 'ere nigger. Hope de Lord's got a blessin fur bofe on yer. Good bye.

Ellen.—Thoughtless as Jim seems, I reckon he's going further than Middleton Woods, to-night. Did you notice how he bid us good bye?

William.—I had my own thought, as soon as he asked for a pass. If he wasn't so noisy, I should like to have him go with us. But it is safest to keep our own counsel, and go alone. I will go and bring young massa's clothes, and you must be thinking how to pass for a white young gentleman, if anybody speaks to us. Our greatest danger is in this county, where so many people know massa, and have seen me with him. But if you can only keep up your courage, Ellen, I trust the Lord will help us to arrive safe in Canada.

SCENE IV.

[A swampy island in the midst of a dense forest, the trees profusely hung with Virginia moss. Twilight is settling into evening, when William and Ellen creep stealthily toward the borders of the wood. They both look travel-worn and weary.]

Ellen [*in a low voice*].—How awfully lonesome was the spot where we have been hiding all the day! I expected every minute to be stung by a rattlesnake, or a cotton-mouth. How tired we must have been to drop asleep in such a place!

William.—It was out of the way of white men, Ellen; and we have more cause to dread *them* than we have to dread the snakes.

Ellen.—I know it! I know it! Father of mercies! I seem to hear those blood-hounds yelping now. How close they came upon us! If we had crossed that brook a minute later, they wouldn't have lost the track, and we should have been torn to pieces. I tremble all over, when I think of it.

William.—I'm afraid they got upon the track of some other poor fugitive, and so let *us* escape. I was sure I heard a scream.

Ellen.—Oh, Willie, *shall* we ever get to Canada?

William.—He who knoweth all things alone can tell. We must put our trust in Him?

Ellen.—Before we start on our night-journey, let us kneel and ask his blessing.

THE FUGITIVES' PRAYER.

Father of all! To Thee we bend;
On Thee alone can we depend,
Guiltless of wrong, yet shunning light,
Bewildered trav'lers of the night,
When others to their rest have gone,
We wander through the world alone.
Thou, who created all,
Oh, hear our anxious call,
And guide us right,
Through the dark night.

Weary, and worn, and full of fear,
We travel through the forests drear;
Fierce wolves may seek us for their prey,
And cruel men, more fierce than they.
Help us to put our trust in Theo!
Our efforts bless, and make us free!
On earth we have no friend,
Oh, guide us to the end,
From ev'ry snare,
Hear thou our prayer!

[They rise and prepare for their journey. Suddenly a light gleams over the foliage, on one side of the forest. Ellen grasps her husband's arm, and points to the light, saying, in low tones:]

Now Heaven help us! There are men coming with torches.

William.—Creep into the bushes, and lie flat on your face.

[Through the deep stillness voices are heard singing:]

Trust in Him who blessed the poor!
O, glory, hallelujah!
He's a friend forever sure!
O, glory, hallelujah!

Broders, sisters, why do ye mourn?
Sing glory, hallelujah!
He's got no massa whar he's gone!
O, glory, hallelujah!

Ellen.—Oh, Willie, don't it seem as if God sent that hymn as an answer to our prayer?

William.—It does, indeed; and I joyfully accept the omen from my poor brothers in misfortune. They are slaves, secretly holding a meeting in the woods. Some of them have died lately, I suppose; and this is the way they give vent to their feelings. How wild and solemn it sounds here among the trees in the star-light.

Ellen.—We have been so lonely, all day, that the sound of human voices is pleasant. Let us wait awhile, and listen.

William.—Poor fellows! Some of them might be tempted to betray us, in hopes of getting a silver bit, or a red handkerchief. Perhaps, too, there may be patrols lurking round to watch the meeting, and some of them might know me. It's not safe to stay here. So keep fast hold of me and creep along through the darkest of the shadows.

[They disappear, while the unseen chorus are repeating:]

He's got no massa whar he's gone!
O, glory, hallelujah!

(CONCLUDED NEXT WEEK.)

FASHIONABLE RELIGION.

"THERE is nothing new," said the wisest of Jewish kings, "under the sun"; and we may hint that comic preaching is not by any means so novel an invention as the partisans and admirers of Mr. Spurgeon would lead us to believe. Centuries have passed, since a bold, honest old man, who afterwards became a martyr, called Hugh Latimer, inveighed against the vices and follies of the age, at Paul's Cross; and, amidst the thunders of his eloquence, there flashed, ever and anon, the lightning scintillation of broad humour and trenchant satire. The sermons of "Barrow and South" show that their deliverers did not disdain the aid of some humourous illustration in enforcing their graver precepts; and, in a later age, in the person of Rowland Hill, we found a most celebrated preacher who could inculcate the soundest doctrine and the gravest morality, under a disguise of spiritual facetiousness and pious buffoonery.

Latimer and Hill both spoke plain truths in a plain and, perhaps, a coarsely humorous manner, but beneath the froth and surging of their facetiousness, there ran a deep under current of solemn truth and genuine piety. They jested, but the jest was but as the feather to the arrow—the dart itself was barbed with immortal veracity, and struck home, deeply and surely.

The British aristocracy have lately taken it into their coronetted and capricious heads to run mad after Mr. Spurgeon. The aristocracy are, in fact, morally "used up." They have gone up Mount Vesuvius, and, looking into the crater, have found "nothing in it." They have been to Athens, and, returning home, have rung the bell for their valets, and yawningly bid them remind them "What they thought of Athens." They have wandered about from one phase of religion to another; now, coquetting with Catholicism, and playing at papistry in Puseyite chapels, revelling in rood screens, predellæ, reredos, prie-dieux, and meek young clergymen living on parched peas, and preaching in surplices, with their hair parted down the middle, till they discovered that those things were vanities, and so bolted over to Rome incontinent, till, tired of priestly dictation and conventual discipline, they abandoned that delusion also, and sought refuge, at last, in irremediable latitudinarianism. They have patronized High Church, Low Church, and Broad Church; now rushed into "brimstone," and now into "treacle"; now patronized the soft-spoken evangelist, who sought to make things eternal as soft, and supple, and facile as a glove; now sat under the fierce and fervent pietist, who denounces the most appalling penalties against the lukewarm and the lackers of zeal, and whose talk is ever of the fire that perisheth not, and of the worm that never dies.

And so, at last, the fashionable world have come to the complexion of Mr. Spurgeon. Week after week we have to record that the ministrations of this high-shouldered Levite have been attended by the great and noble ones of the land, and that his strange and grotesque doctrine appears to have produced the most startling effects upon the "Sir Charles Coldstreams" and "Lady Equables" of society. Now it is an awakened æsthetic art-critic who presses a check for a large amount into the hands of a gifted preacher; now it is a former first minister of England, who, faithless to a crown, court, and Dr. Cumming, forsakes the ministry of that apocalyptic seer, and strays into the Spurgeonic sheepfold. Now we hear of the famous Duchess "who powders her hair with gold," sitting an humble penitent at the feet of this new Gamaliel; now we have to enumerate a long list of marquises and marchionesses, earls and countesses, baronets, right honourables, and distinguished esquires and mistresses—so long and so brilliant, indeed, that we have to refer twice to the page to be convinced that we are not quoting *The Morning Post*, and giving a list of the attendance at the queen's drawing-room, or lady Thistledown's, the dansante.

Against Mr. Spurgeon, personally, we have not one word to say. Our private opinion may be that the man is a mere mountebank and shallow charlatan; but we are not in a position to dispute the necessity which, in the first instance, may have moved this person to emulate the questionable fame of orator Henley, and to appeal to the spiritual sympathies of his transpontine audience, through the media of coarse vituperation, unseemly levity, and a revoltingly profane familiarity with sacred things. If Mr. Spurgeon choose to hire himself out to become a species of theological Grimaldi, on his head, and on his elders, deacons, and congregational supporters, be the sin of bringing religion into ridicule, and the sacerdotal office into contempt. Mr. Spurgeon may, besides, have found Park Street in such a graceless and brutishly ignorant state, with regard to spiritual matters, that the introduction of "fun" and buffoonery, and joke-cracking, into his performances may have been the only means at his command for making his benighted hearers listen to the Word at all. Far be it from us to counsel, in the remotest degree, interference with liberty of conscience. We would that Alfred Tennyson's famous *Christmas Bells*, besides ringing out the thousand years of war, and ringing in the thousand years of peace, could ring toleration into all men's hearts. Let the Catholic priest raise high the pyx before the altar; let the Episcopalian clergyman recite the beautiful service of his church; let the rabbi read the rolls of the law in the midst of the synagogue; let the Russo-Greek intone the Slavonic liturgy from the gates of the Skonostat; let Wesleyans, Independents, Quakers, Presbyterians, Baptists, Separatists of every shade worship the Great Creator according to their convictions, and with perfect liberty and security. The sacred responsibility is with the men themselves, and not with us who, worshipping humbly and reverently according to our own lights, are fearful of pointing out the mote in the eyes of our brethren, lest the beam should be discovered in our own.

We should be wanting, however, in common honesty, and in the duty we owe to the public and to ourselves, were we to refrain from protesting against the spurious Spurgeonism rife just now among the upper classes of society. Cloyed with every luxury, palled with every enjoyment, disgusted with every delight, wearied at opera and ball, concert and exhibition, it is really pitiable to see the wealthy and intellectual aristocracy of this country rushing across the bridges in the vain attempt to gain a new and factitious excitement in the vulgar mouthings and incoherent tom-foolery of a clerical Dulcamara. It is the more pitiable, convinced by experience as we are, that these newly-awakened lords and ladies—these charming neophytes of Belgravia and Tyburnia—would rush, with full as much eagerness, after the dwarf Tom Thumb, after the giant Hales, were they but novelties, after a cow with two heads, a mermaid, or a spotted girl. It is the more significant when we remember that, in a neighbouring country, and in the decadence of a monarchy, the silken aristocracy of Versailles—the same aristocracy that simpered at the agonies of Damiens, and the murder of Lally—jostled and fought with one another to behold the pious ecstacies of the Convulsionists, and the spurious miracles at the grave of the Abbe Paris.—*London Daily Telegraph.*

A CHAPTER OF ANTI-SLAVERY.

[The *Albany Evening Journal*, in giving some account of the Old Hall of Representatives at Washington, just vacated by the lower house of Congress, recalls some events in the history of the anti-slavery cause, the details of which will be new, perhaps, to some of our younger readers, and will be recalled with interest by those who are old enough to remember the stirring incidents of that period:]

THE right of petition was early put in issue by that persistent body of men, the radical Abolitionists, whose convictions of duty no fire of persecution was hot enough to burn out of them. It is a curious fact that the first modern memorial respecting slavery ever presented to the House of Representatives was the proceedings of a meeting in Utica, N. Y., *deprecating the agitation of this subject!* It was offered by Judge Beardsley, then in Congress, in the opening days of the session of 1834-'5. John Dickson, of Ontario County, N. Y., in January, 1835 (just after the reception of the Utica memorial), presented a petition for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. He advocated its prayer in an able speech. This was the first gentle zephyr of that approaching storm which ultimately swelled into a tempest that raged in the House with unabated fury for many years. The earliest defenders of the right of petition were Messrs. Dickson of New York, Phillips and Jackson of Massachusetts, and Slade of Vermont. Resort was soon had to the gag rule, which, as the flood of memorials began to increase in volume, was finally incorporated among the standing rules of the House. These tyrannical measures aroused the ire of John Quincy Adams, who soon became the leading champion of the right of petition. His great age, his eminent services, his persistent courage, his skill in debate, at once elevated the controversy to a commanding position before the country. During the sessions of 1836-'7-'8 and '9, his desk was loaded with heaps of anti-slavery memorials from all the free States. Every petition day witnessed a graphic scene, as the old man deliberately presented one memorial after another, taking most provoking pains to make a brief statement of the contents of each as he handed it over to the little page, to be ultimately consigned by the Clerk to some dark cell in the subterranean vaults of the Capitol.

On the 18th of January, 1837, the House adopted the usual rule to lay anti-slavery petitions on the table; this being denominated the "Hawes gag," to distinguish it from the "Patton gag," or the "Atherton gag." On Monday, the 6th of February, 1837, Mr. Adams, having occupied an hour or more in exhausting his pile of anti-slavery memorials, paused, and, looking significantly at Mr. Speaker Polk, said, "I hold in my hand a paper purporting to be a petition from certain slaves. If I should present it to the House, would it go on the table under the order of the 18th January?" The Speaker seemed bewildered, and had just time to stammer out something about the gravity of the question, when the entire pro-slavery side of the chamber exploded with the most intense wrath. "Let him be expelled!" screamed a score of voices. "Expel the traitor!" shouted Dixon H. Lewis, whose huge body, weighing 500 pounds avoirdupois, came waddling and wheezing down the aisle towards the Clerk's desk. The whole corps of oligarchs were on their feet, screaming, swearing, gesticulating like demons. Polk plied his gavel and called to order in vain, while the spectators in the overhanging galleries caught the spirit of the scene, and were going wild with excitement. Quick as thought, resolutions were prepared for the expulsion of Mr. Adams, based on the assumption that he had presented a petition from slaves for the abolition of slavery. Ere they were fairly before the House, they were offered in a modified form by Mr. Waddy Thompson, now demanding the severest censure rather than expulsion. Thereupon the debate began. It raged violently three days. Thompson, Dromgoole, Wise, Underwood, leading off for the slavocracy; while Lincoln, Cushing, Phillips, Granger, and others, defended Adams.

During the height of the tempest, the rotunda, the galleries, the passages of the Capitol being filled with an excited throng, the colleagues and friends of Mr. Adams felt great anxiety not only for his fate in the House, but for his personal safety. Meantime the resolutions were going through various modifications, all tending to soften their terms and mitigate their conclusions. All this time the old Roman sat unmoved in his place, the calmest man in the chamber, with the incendiary petition safely locked up in his desk. At length it began to leak out that the paper was not exactly such a document as the slaveholders in their hot haste had imagined it to be. Whereupon, Dromgoole, of Virginia, still further modified the resolutions by setting forth that the member from Massachusetts had "*given colour to the idea* that slaves had a right to petition," &c.—a phrase on which Adams afterwards roasted him alive. Finally, the pro-slavery side of the House began to suspect that they were pursuing the negro in the wrong direction; that if there was a coloured individual in the case at all, he was more likely to be found in the paling than in the petition, and so they stopped to take breath. Then Mr. Adams rose to address the House. With great deliberation, his voice pitched on a shrill key that pierced the remotest corner of the galleries, and with a frail bit of paper rustling in his aged hand, he called the Speaker's attention to the question he had put to him three days ago, which still remained unanswered, viz.: Whether a paper purporting to be a petition from slaves would, *if he were to present it*, go on the table under the order of the 18th of January? Looking around him with a mingled expression of sarcastic cunning and lofty scorn which Lord Chatham would have envied, he cried in a voice, not of thunder, but in a sharp, hissing tone, such as lightning might be supposed to employ if it spoke at all, "and am I to be expelled from this loquacious, babbling House, for simply asking a question?" For the first time the thought flashed on friend and foe that Mr. Adams had neither presented the paper nor proposed to present it! Everybody felt queer, while some grave men looked like lank sheep suddenly denuded of their fleeces. It had now got wind that the paper was a forgery, the work of some stupid slaveholder in Washington, and purported to be signed by Scipio, Sambo, and other bogus negroes, asking the House to expel Mr. Adams from their body!

And now "the Old Man Eloquent" took his turn in the debate. How he demolished one opponent after another, scourging, flaying, scalping, impaling, to his heart's content. How rank upon rank of the Chivalry went down in heaps before his trenchant blade—how he spitted poor Dromgoole, and roasted him before a slow fire of sarcasm, when he told him that "giving colour to an idea" was not a Northern but a Southern practice, one of the peculiar domestic institutions of Virginia, with which he had no desire to interfere—how the House screamed with laughter, as Dromgoole essayed a grim smile in acknowledgment of this delicate allusion to the bleaching chemistry employed by the South to eradicate the dark tints in their variegated population—how he wound up his triumphant philippic by warning his young adversaries "never again to run on an errand till they know whither they are going"—and how the House firmly refused to lay the resolutions on the table, but brought their authors to a direct vote, and finally trampled them down by a decided majority; are not all these things written in the Chronicles of the Old Hall of the House of Representatives?

In January, 1842, another attempt was made to expel or disgrace Mr. Adams for his practical defence of the right of petition. Among the numerous memorials forwarded to him was one from Haverhill, Massachusetts, asking Congress to take the initiatory steps for the dissolution of the Union. He presented the petition on the 24th of January, at the same time remarking that he was opposed to granting its prayer. As in the previous outbreak of 1837, the pro-slavery side of the Chamber, which had been threatening a dissolution of the Union any day for the last dozen years, now threw itself into a foaming rage at the bare suggestion of taking it at its word. Tom Marshall, the eloquent, but eccentric, member from Kentucky, gravely proposed to impeach Mr. Adams for treason; Henry A. Wise, even yet famous for his absurd heresies, demanded his expulsion from the House; while milder members only called for severe censure. Mr. Adams demanded a trial. Of the thrilling incidents of that controversy, which extended through twelve bitter days, there is no time now to speak. On the fifth or sixth day (we are writing wholly from memory), Mr. Adams entered upon his defence. We have a distinct recollection of the mighty themes shadowed forth in his outline, and which he proposed to discuss at length; and of the important documents for which he called under an order of the House—his themes and his documents embracing the whole circle of slavery. Having laid out work enough, as he said, in response to a question from a Southern member, to occupy two or three months, he began by an examination of the positions of his assailants, *seriatim*. His reply to Marshall was magnificent. In the course of it, while responding to Marshall's proposition to impeach him for treason, he turned suddenly upon him—Marshall plumed himself upon his high birth and superior intellect—and said: "The framers of the Constitution have not left it for the puny mind of the member from Kentucky to define what treason is. They have declared it solely to consist in levying war against the United States, and giving aid and comfort to their enemies. Let him study the document!"

In his reply to Wise, he was terribly severe. For once, he made the haughty, brassy Virginian blanch and quail. Wise took an active part in this attempt to degrade the old man. It will be remembered that, on the occasion of the Cilley duel, the House appeared to be determined to expel all the members who had participated in that murder. Wise was one of the number. At a critical stage of the controversy, Mr. Adams made a speech against the constitutional right of the House to expel a member without a formal trial, and subsequently made a successful motion to lay the subject on the table. Thus Wise was saved. On the present occasion, in the course of his reply to Wise's bitter attack, he fixed his eye upon him, and, pointing his skinny finger steadily at him, said: "At a period not far remote, when the member now sitting in that chair, entered this Hall, pale and haggard, his hands all dripping with the red blood of a fellow-member, and this House in its indignation was about to expel him from its presence, who interposed the shield of the Constitution in defence of his privileges, and saved him from disgrace? And is this the return he renders me for that service?"

When the old man was uttering these terrible words, Wise, who was sitting erect at their commencement, taking notes, began to settle down lower, and lower, and lower, all eyes fixed upon him, till, at their conclusion, his abashed countenance was completely hidden behind his desk. No convicted culprit, standing in the dock, and writhing under the sentence of a judge, ever exhibited a more pitiable spectacle than did the cowed Virginian.

We must forbear further details. Suffice it to say, that, at the end of the twelfth day, the slaveholders, beaten at all points, and driven from the field, while Mr. Adams was only on the threshold of the discussion, were glad to lay their own resolutions on the table, and give up the contest.

THE FLORA OF THE COAL MEASURES.

THE flora of the Coal Measures was the richest and most luxuriant, in at least individual productions, with which the fossil botanist has formed any acquaintance. Never before or since did our planet bear so rank a vegetation as that of which the numerous coal seams and inflammable shales of the carboniferous period form but a portion of the remains—the portion spared, in the first instance, by dissipation and decay, and in the second by the denuding agencies. Almost all our coal—the stored up fuel of a world—forms but a comparatively small part of the produce of this wonderful flora. Amid much that was so strange and antique of type in its productions as to set the analogies of the botanist at fault, there occurred one solitary order, not a few of whose species closely resembled their congeners of the present time. I refer, of course, to its ferns. And these seemed to have formed no small proportion of the entire flora of the period. Francis estimates the recent dorsiferous ferns of Great Britain at thirty-five species, and the species of all the other genera at six more—forty-one species in all; and as